National Municipal Review

Vol. XXVIII, No. 7 Total Number 277

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

Clifford W. Ham

It is with deep regret that we announce the death of Clifford W. Ham, executive director of the American Municipal Association and long active in the work of the National Municipal League. One of the interesting sidelights on Cliff is that he was perhaps the first product of a graduate course in municipal administration to become a city manager. He took the course in public administration at the University of Michigan in the early years of its existence and served as manager of Gladstone and Pontiac, Michigan. After leaving the field of city management he became associated with the American Municipal Association and four years ago became its executive director.

Citizens' Councils to the Fore

With the passing of the particular depression situation which originally called the citizens' council idea into existence, the plan is being revamped, given a larger significance, and more closely integrated with the program of the National Municipal League in a National Federation of Citizens' Organizations.

The purpose of the federation is: (a) to promote active association of local citizens' councils and other citizens' organizations that are kindred in the sense that they are based upon the idea of more intelligent and effective citizen participation in government; (b) to assist in organizing other citizens' councils, or similar groups, under whatever name, that are dedicated to essential citizens' council objectives; (c) to supply information to all members of the federation that will be of value in arranging local programs; and (d) to build up gradually, as resources permit, a competent force of speakers and field workers whose services can be drawn upon when expert help is required to get council groups organized and under way.

Dr. P. P. Womer, President Emeritus of Washburn College, and until recently head of its Department of Citizenship, expects to devote full time to field work on behalf of the councils, beginning in September.

Two new pamphlets on the subject are now available for distribution: *Citizen's Councils, a Device to Mobilize the Forces of Each Community in the Interest of More Effective Citizenship,* and *A Program to Improve the Quality of Government by Improving the Quality of Citizenship.* Copies of both may be secured from the League's office without charge.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Big or Little, We Foot the Bill

WHENEVER an opportunity comes to emphasize the important truth that everyone, big or little, helps to foot the tax bill, it's a compelling temptation to be as emphatic as possible. Thus, when the excellent Leonard tax burden study[1] was published some weeks ago, the outstanding fact seemed to be that low income families ($2,500) worked a month out of the year to pay direct taxes alone. This was widely publicized.

Now comes this complaint from an able and conscientious public official:

"Many taxpayers . . . may be led to believe that all governmental agencies are grossly extravagant after reading this . . . It (the study) may be used by tax quacks and others who do not appreciate the necessity of government. Therefore, may I suggest that a survey be made and another article written pointing out to the taxpayers the benefits they receive from the governmental agencies in this democracy."

This is a basically sound observation, one which calls attention dramatically to the widespread current distortion by tax charlatans of originally trustworthy information.

The NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW is not one of those publications which regard expenditures through governmental agencies as unproductive. After all, government is simply the medium through which people perform collectively those services which they cannot perform as well or as economically on an individual basis.

Governmentally-operated services and improvements on the whole fall in the category of money-savers, not money-wasters. Witness the pride with which the "economy-minded" government of one city abolished the service of garbage and trash collection, only to find that it cost each family two dollars per month, several times the cost under city operation, to have it done by private contractors. It is also demonstrably sound and, in the long run, an economy to keep libraries, night schools, and similar activities in operation, *especially* in times of widespread unemployment.

To make a survey of benefits would be a monumental undertaking —for they are many and great. And, in all honesty, the conductor of a tax "burden" study is under no more obligation to point out all the benefits from these services than is the administration to add to the announcement of the completion of a new city hall: "This represents a cost of ten dollars per capita or thirty-three dollars per family, which will be paid just as certainly by the non-property owner as by the property owner and by the small income families just as certainly as by the large."

That never happens. Has it not rather been customary to gloss over this part of the picture and to con-

[1]The Direct Tax Burden on Low Income Groups, by J. M. Leonard, National Municipal League, 1939. 35 cents.

vey the idea that improvements and expansions of service are always necessary and within the ability of the community to pay?

Many cities, of course, might well follow the example of some which take positive action to inform their "stockholders" not only of the money paid for each governmental activity but also of benefits derived through the expenditure of this money.

With single-idea pressure groups continually taking positive action toward the improvement and extension of the particular services in which they are interested, the onus of making a show of resistance usually falls on commercial and so-called taxpayers' associations. The basic inability of the average citizen to understand the universality of tax paying is well illustrated by, for example, the habitual limitation of membership in the taxpayers' associations to property owners. Seldom indeed is there adequate if any representation of those who rent homes, live in furnished rooms or in hotels.

The owners of this democracy certainly have every obligation to realize that government costs have mounted because they themselves have demanded services which three generations ago did not exist or were performed by each individual for himself. But at the same time they have an equal obligation and a right to learn that everyone, and not merely an outstandingly able few, foots the bill.

Why Binghamton Abandoned the Manager Plan (Continued)[1]

HARASSED by mounting costs and wastefulness in the operation of public services, Binghamton, New York, adopted the council-manager form of government in 1932.

The plan worked—if the test be reduced operating expenses, reduced debt, improved services, elimination of unnecessary jobs for "the faithful," efficient organization and honesty in public office. But two serious floods during the manager regime and the transfer of growing relief costs from the federal government to the municipality made borrowing necessary, even though the total debt and debt service cost both were lowered. An honest pay-as-you-go policy did, however, cause a temporary increase in the tax rate.

In 1937 Binghamton, with only 38 per cent of the qualified voters going to the polls, permitted the abandonment of the council-manager plan by a margin of 2,416 votes, clearly showing the blasé indifference of a considerable part of the citizenry.

Now the story has been brought up to date by the indictment of Binghamton's mayor—the selfsame politician who led the fight against the manager plan—on eighteen extortion counts. That's much more exciting than good management. The mayor-council plan itself probably didn't cause the present situation any more than the council-manager plan caused two years of floods. Perhaps the answer is for Binghamton to get out 83 instead of 38 per cent of the vote.

[1]See also editorial, "Why Binghamton Abandoned the Manager Plan," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1937, page 275.

Managing Minnesota

By HAROLD E. STASSEN, *Governor of Minnesota*

Provision for appointment of a "commissioner of administration" by Governor, reorganization of important state departments, and application of the merit system to state employees among significant measures passed by this year's legislature.

STATE government in Minnesota has grown and expanded like that of most states. New departments have been added and boards created as new needs arose, until at the beginning of this year there were no less than sixty-four different bureaus, agencies, boards, and departments. Imagine the difficulties of a governor who tries to keep in touch with the activities of a complicated pattern of departments such as this.

This administration recommended at the outset, and the legislature has now approved, application of the merit system to state employees and reorganization of some of the more important state departments in two far-reaching proposals to improve administration. In making this reorganization three boards were abolished and replaced with single officials in the conviction that greater efficiency can be obtained through individual officials. Responsibility can be fixed more definitely under the new plan, and the single official can act more promptly and follow a more consistent policy than is possible with cumbersome boards.

One of the most important provisions in the reorganization act was that which created the office of "commissioner of administration." Appointed by and responsible to the governor, the man who holds this office will have supervision of business and financial matters, with broad powers which may be said to approximate very largely those of a business manager for the state. With the demands made upon him, a governor cannot find time to deal properly with the many business problems that confront him. The need of a single official, close to and responsible to the governor, who can assume most of these duties of management long has been evident.

First steps were taken in this direction in 1925. A reorganization act passed at that time consolidated some departments in order to simplify administration and concentrate more power under the governor, with a commission of administration to carry out his wishes. The commission consisted of the comptroller, the purchasing agent, and the budget commissioner who had charge both of the budget and of personnel. The commission as a whole had to pass on all important matters. As it worked out in practice, however, the commission usually accepted the recommendation of the member handling the department involved. Responsibility could not be centered, and administration was slowed up.

The setup of the board gave rise to several curious circumstances: for example, the comptroller as a member of the commission took part in the letting of contracts and supervision of departments; but at the same time, in his capacity of public examiner, he audited and examined the results of his own work.

This commission of administration

and finance has now been abolished. The merit system act, patterned after more advanced measures in other states, removes state employees from the control of the budget commissioner and places them under a civil service department. Budget-making will be handled by the commissioner of administration along with his other management duties. The office of budget commissioner thus will pass out of the picture. The purchasing agent and his assistants are being placed under the commissioner of administration. The former state comptroller has become public examiner under the new act, appointed by the governor for a six-year term, and will carry on his work of examining and auditing books of both the local units of government and state departments as an independent official. He will have nothing more to do with the letting of contracts or financial control of the state departments, but will confine his activities to a post-audit or examination of the books and records.

COMPLETE BUDGET PROCEDURE

The reorganization act provides for a new budget procedure in line with accepted standards. It requires that the governor submit a budget to the legislature and at the same time outline a program for raising the money needed to balance the recommended appropriations. The commissioner of administration, in preparing this budget for the governor, must cover all state expenditures, including dedicated funds as well as borrowing. In other words, the budget must be complete. Unspent balances at the end of each year will become void unless specific provision to the contrary is made at the time of the appropriation. This has not been the practice in Minnesota.

Citizens and even members of the legislature have found it almost impossible, as a result of former omissions, to determine how much money has been appropriated. Often weeks are required before officials can figure out the result of legislative action in dollars and cents. This is not sound public policy. The first essential of good government is to know what the state is doing and where it is going.

It is not enough, however, to have a full and proper budget presented. Under the reorganization act a plan has been set up whereby the commissioner of administration may know at any time the status of the various funds. The act gives him power through the quarterly allotment provisions to scale down expenditures wherever needed to keep them within appropriations. There is no way to get adequate information of this kind under our present system. Large deficits can be incurred easily without an opportunity for the governor or other officials who might exercise a controlling or restraining influence to find out with any definiteness what the situation is. So reconciled has the state become to handling its financial operations in the dark that for some years provision has been made whereby officials may borrow as much as $6,000,000 from other state funds and $3,000,000 from the banks for general revenue purposes and so have $9,000,000 in current loans outstanding. Part of the necessity for this borrowing has been due to the fact that the state depends for much of its revenue upon gross earn-

ings taxes and other special taxes, whose return, being dependent somewhat on business conditions, cannot be forecast definitely. Much of the trouble, however, has been due to the lack of any real information on expenditures and the absence of any systematic effort to control them.

UP-TO-DATE ACCOUNTING INSTALLED

A modern, centralized state accounting system is essential to exercise intelligent control over the funds appropriated by the legislature. Heretofore Minnesota really has had two accounting systems, one in the commission of administration, the other in the office of the state auditor, who is an elective official. Neither has given the information needed for effective financial control.

The legislature has assigned the task of installing and operating a modern, central accounting system to the state auditor, and he now is busy getting it organized. The accounting is to be set up on an "accrual" rather than a cash basis. The purchasing department will notify the state auditor when each purchase or contract is made, and funds of that department will be encumbered at once for the proper amount. This will give the true financial condition of the state government at all times.

With this information before him constantly, the commissioner of administration can exercise some real control over expenditures. He can check expenditures against appropriations as he goes along and against receipts as well. The new act provides that appropriations are not available for departmental expenditures, except for the courts and the legislature, until the commissioner of administration has approved detailed budget plans for the following three-months period. The amount appropriated by the legislature is the maximum that a department may spend, but quarter by quarter the commissioner of administration must be convinced of the desirability of actual expenditures. If revenues fall off and there is indication that there will be a deficit in the treasury or the general revenue fund, it is mandatory upon the commissioner of administration to reduce allotments.

All purchasing activities will now be centered under the commissioner of administration. The board of control, handling our state institutions and many welfare activities, had been allowed by statute to make its own purchases, and the highway department also was allowed in effect to make its own purchases. Previous to the adoption of the new legislation, requirements for bidding on state purchases were weak, except in the case of highway construction, and there was little semblance of the open, competitive bidding that ought to prevail on state purchases and state contracts. Such spectacles as the state buying $100,000 of road materials on purchase orders without public advertising and open and competitive bidding are now impossible. Under the new law it is clearly mandatory to take bids on all purchases over prescribed amounts. On amounts over $500 sealed bids must be solicited by advertisement in a newspaper or trade journal and notices to prospective bidders by mail, and the bids must be opened in public at a

designated time. Sealed bids also are required on purchases of from $200 to $500, but newspaper advertising need not be used on these purchases.

The commissioner of administration, with the many duties prescribed, will need the help of specialists in many lines. He will need a man to operate state buildings, another to take charge of purchasing, another to handle state printing, etc. But he will be able with competent help to keep closely in touch with and supervise the activities of all and become in this way a useful and effective right arm of the chief executive. He is appointed for a two-year term at $6,000 a year, and his tenure thus will coincide roughly with that of the governor.

TAX BOARD ABOLISHED

The changes in other departments made in the reorganization act also have been prompted by a desire to simplify the governmental machinery and improve administration. One of these changes involves the tax commission. We have had for many years a tax commission of three members, with administrative and judicial duties combined. This board has been replaced by a single commissioner who will have charge of administration, and by a part-time board of tax appeals, consisting of three members, to hear appeals. Utilization of a separate board to hear appeals represents a new departure, but it is based on sound logic. The commissioner will be appointed by the governor, with approval of the Senate, for a six-year term at an annual salary of $6,000.

The act also abolishes the board of control, consisting of three members, which has directed state institutions and many of the welfare activities. In its place three divisions are set up, a division of public institutions, handling state asylums, prisons, and other institutions; a division of unemployment and security, in charge of unemployment compensation and public employment work; and a division of social welfare, handling relief and welfare activities. Each division will be under the supervision of a director, appointed by the governor with approval of the Senate, for a four-year term at $5,000 annually. The three directors make up a social security board, set up largely to coördinate activities of the three divisions, but the board has no authority to interfere with the administration of any of the divisions. Each director is supreme in his own domain.

We have not attempted a complete reorganization of the state government, but have attacked only a few departments where changes seemed most essential for improved administration. Many changes still are needed.

The administration has been convinced that we must have a civil service law for state employees as a companion measure to the reorganization act. The legislature has worked out a satisfactory solution to this much debated proposal, and the newly created civil service board now is organizing the system. Employees who have been in the service five years or more on August 1st this

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Citizenship Day in Manitowoc

By S. V. NORTON, *Oakland Citizens League*

Wisconsin county holds special celebration to welcome county's seven hundred "twenty-one-year-olds" to citizenship; ceremony follows training courses in government and the responsibility of the citizen in American democracy.

AT THE convention of the National Municipal League in Baltimore last winter, Dr. Clarence A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin and of the League, discussed the need for reappraising the benefits of American democracy and for firing the imagination of our people "with a passion for our traditional way of life." During the course of his address Dr. Dykstra said:

"We have taken for granted the perpetuation in America of the Democratic process. In these latter days, none the less, we are finding many who say they are disillusioned. Faith in the democratic experiment is not as strong even in the United States as it was a decade ago. Moreover, our traditional way of life is being assailed from the outside. The short wave radio broadcasts from other shores and the activity of propagandists here and there in local communities are raising questions in the minds of many Americans which make us wonder sometimes just how invulnerable to world movements America is.

"The dictators . . . are cultivating a common interest and a new goal. They are teaching the doctrine that to save one's life, one must lose it in devotion to a common social ideal. They are using every available educational facility for pounding home this ideal. They are making zealots out of citizens and arousing an enthusiasm for the new order which passes our understanding. They are bringing up a generation which is confident of itself and ready to dare anything for the accomplishment of a national goal."

On another occasion Dr. Dykstra told the Council of the League that he had been considering the possibility of suggesting the establishment of a "Citizenship Day" as a national holiday in the United States, which should be to the youth of our country what the solemn ceremonies practiced by our tribal ancestors were to those passing through the transition from boyhood to manhood in that time.

"In our democratic society which threw overboard all ritual," Dr. Dykstra said, "we have done nothing to impress upon our young people that at twenty-one they become responsible voting members of the body politic." He then gave an outline of what he considered a suitable celebration of entrance into citizenship, and predicted that if his plans worked out as he hoped such a program would be inaugurated in May of this year, in the city of Manitowoc, Wisconsin.

The reason for selecting Manitowoc was interesting. Dr. R. J. Colbert, chief of the Bureau of Economics and Sociology of the University of Wisconsin's Extension

Division, had suggested this idea to various communities in Wisconsin where he had held classes. While it had always met with theoretical approval, no real action resulted. During a series of lectures he was giving in Manitowoc, however, his proposal took root. A member of the class, Judge Albert H. Schmidt, was so impressed with its value that he said to the group, "Here is a real challenge to democracy. Let's *do* something about it." Inspired by his enthusiasm the community accepted the challenge and began to lay the foundation for the celebration which later involved the active participation not only of the seven hundred young men and women in Manitowoc County who had reached the age of twenty-one the preceding year, but some twenty-five or thirty thousand older residents.

Judge Schmidt, who had served on the bench in Manitowoc County for twenty-eight years, and was widely known and respected, did much toward making the ceremonies a success. Never claiming personal credit for himself, he succeeded in enlisting and sustaining the active support of local men and women in all walks of life. Working with Mr. George W. Kiel, chairman of the county board, and Mr. A. W. Tetzlaff, county clerk, Judge Schmidt was instrumental in securing a special appropriation from the supervisors which placed activities on a solid foundation.

COMMITTEE APPOINTED

To carry out the plan, Dr. Colbert helped to appoint a General Executive Committee from various groups in the county. Each member thus appointed took it upon himself to enlist the support of the organization from which he came. Among the members of this general committee were such representative leaders as the director of vocational and adult education, who acted as chairman, the superintendent of schools, county clerk, president of the Chamber of Commerce, chairman of the Board of Supervisors, editors of city and rural newspapers, president of the Federation of Women's Clubs, county agricultural agent, president of the Central Labor Council, and the commander of the American Legion Post.

Carefully chosen subcommittees were appointed. These included: ways and means, to prepare the list of new voters and to get in touch with them; program, to arrange the ceremony and ritual; directory, to arrange for participation of organizations and agencies in the county; publicity, for build-up, coverage, and follow-up; records, to prepare permanent lists of new voters and arrange for "alumni" to help carry out next year's program; traffic, safety, and emergency; parade; and decorations.

Persons serving on the subcommittees represented organizations in various parts of the county, and great care was taken to have the work divided equally between urban and rural residents. Moreover, an advisor was appointed for each subcommittee, who represented the general committee, and acted as coördinator of the two.

The University of Wisconsin, through its Extension Division, published an *Organization Handbook* containing the list of committees and

the duties of each. This was not only valuable for local leaders and workers, but was much in demand by interested citizens in other states, since it provided a pattern for other communities to follow in organizing similar celebrations.

The first task to be undertaken was the selection and training of teachers or discussion leaders through a series of teachers institutes. Between three and four hundred leaders volunteered their services—school teachers, lawyers, doctors, farmers, as well as business men and women. About half were women. From this group about eighty were finally chosen, their selection depending partly upon their geographic distribution with relation to the new voters. The county officials did their part in the teaching program by attending the teachers institutes and coöperating with the committee.

TRAINING THE NEW VOTERS

Dr. Colbert assumed responsibility for gathering together and putting into usable form the educational materials needed. Organization charts were made for town, village, city, and county government units. These charts showed elective and appointive officers, their tenure, and the legislative authorization for their offices, as well as the relationship of the voter to the various public officers in the county. While other charts revealed similar information as to the state and federal governments, the greater emphasis was placed on local government where the voter has his most intimate contacts with government officials.

The next problem was to find and list all twenty-one-year-old voters. This was the most difficult task of all because this age group is one of the most mobile. School census reports were utilized but they were not complete. In the larger cities, a house-to-house canvass was necessary. The town clerks provided as much information as possible, as did county and city superintendents of schools. School commissioners were authorized to provide lists of names and National Youth Administration workers helped to get lists in city districts without charge.

The organization and training of new voters covered a period of several months. After the lists had been made up, meetings of the young people were called in their various political subdivisions. These took place in the evening, usually in some public school or other public building and in each instance one man and one woman leader were present, the latter acting not only as a teacher, but as chaperon for the young people. The unit groups varied in number, the smallest being nine and the largest thirty-five. At the first meeting each group elected its own officers and from then on the officers acted as representatives for the group, thus giving the new voters an example of democratic government in action.

Training at these meetings consisted of lecture-discussions conducted in the form of round tables on the following subjects: (1) The place of local government in American democracy—the town, village, city, and county—their officers—their functions. (2) The state and

nation, their place in American democracy—the role of citizens in state and national affairs—the relation of the state and nation to local affairs—officers, elected and appointed. (3) Relation of government to our everyday life; the spread of the benefit of science and technology; how government agencies contribute to our standards of living; our tax dollar and the private dollar; democracy as a way of life. (4) Standards of public service—politics and preparation for public service; the party system—civil service and the merit system; public service as a career; responsibilities of the citizen in American democracy today; understanding the organization and operation of government units; methods of voting; duties and responsibilities as a participating citizen.

No attempt was made to check the attendance at these classes, or to give an examination at the end of the course, since it was assumed that the voters would be sufficiently interested to attend the meetings and learn as much as possible. In certain cases where voters were known to live at some distance from the place of meeting, transportation was provided.

NEW VOTERS ORGANIZE

After two study meetings of the new voters in their local subdivisions, a large mass meeting or convention was held in the great Lincoln High School, a building which resembles in size and architecture the finest buildings of our American universities. At this meeting the new voters set up their own county organization and chose their county officers.

During this period of organization and training of new voters, other features of Citizenship Day were being prepared, most important of which was the parade, designed to dramatize various aspects of American citizenship.

Money raised through voluntary contributions from merchants enabled the new voters to have thirty-nine floats, one for each political subdivision. Some were constructed in the workshops of the city of Manitowoc, but most were built in the local communities. The subjects for these floats were selected by the young voters, and represented such features as: landing of the pilgrim fathers, negroes made citizens, Miss Columbia, trial by jury, freeing of the slaves, woman's suffrage, Washington crossing the Delaware, birth of Citizenship Day, freedom of religion, and regimentation or recreation.

After months of painstaking preparation which seemed a magnificent expression of American team work and organizing ability, all was in readiness for the celebration which had been set for the third Sunday in May. This day had been selected not without opposition by church leaders who at first felt that the holiday aspect of the affair would be emphasized to the detriment of its spiritual significance. Nevertheless, Sunday observance was finally accepted by all, including leaders of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish churches, since they realized it would give them an unusual opportunity to stress the spiritual factors of citizenship. Furthermore the choice of Sunday eliminated conflicts with other celebrations or duties which might

have occurred had the observance taken place on a week-day or on a national holiday.

CHURCHES EMPHASIZE CITIZENSHIP

Nearly all the churches devoted their Sunday services to Citizenship Day, while many of the church notices appearing in the newspapers emphasized the spiritual significance of good citizenship.

On Sunday morning it rained heavily and for a time it seemed as though the parade would have to be abandoned. Toward noon, however, the weather began to clear and the crowds assembled on the sidewalks to see the parade. By the time the marshall gave the signal to start, the sun began to shine.

Headed by the Manitowoc Marine Band, one of the oldest and finest musical organizations in Wisconsin, the various floats and companies of new voters proceeded through the city. Bands in gay uniforms from schools, clubs, and fraternal organizations, interspersed throughout the formation, played and marched surprisingly well.

The parade ended at the Lincoln High School where the seven hundred new voters took seats on either side of the speakers' platform. Behind the speakers were the guests and visitors from out of town, some of whom came from New York, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and from states as far west as Montana. Friends from California sent messages of congratulation.

The program for the ceremony was printed by the Board of Vocational and Adult Education as a typical project of its printing department, and therefore did not cost the management a penny.

The following passages from the introductory address by Judge Schmidt, who had been appointed Master of Ceremonies, show the broad scope and the seriousness of purpose contemplated in the ceremonies:

"We are met on this occasion to install with appropriate ceremony the like of which America has never seen before, all young men and women of Manitowoc County who have reached the age of twenty-one during the past year, into the status of full fledged American citizenship. These young men and women and all of us who participate in these ceremonies are making history—important history.

"This is the birth of a new day in American democracy. We have planned with great care and detail, intending a national democratic, permanent pattern, building not for a day or a year, but for all time. One important element of our plan is that it starts not at the top working downward, but at the very bottom, at the root and source of American democracy—the township, the village, the city ward, its twenty-one-year-old voter.

"Contemplate, if you please, some 2,500,000 twenty-one-year-old voters in the United States every year *voluntarily*—not by force, not by coercion, not by dictatorial decree, but voluntarily—being inducted into full fledged American citizenship by a proper course of study as to the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and you have a picture of the importance and the far reaching pos-

sibilities of the Manitowoc plan. Our aim and our hope is, not only to educate and inspire the young people of the country, but the older citizens as well—to make this a day when all Americans irrespective of nationality, creed, or political belief shall reconsecrate themselves to a more vigilant and zealous interest and devotion to the principles of Americanism."

The following remarks by Chief Justice Rosenberry of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin were made after the raising of the stars and stripes with flag ceremonies by part of a regiment of infantry. "I am indeed happy to share with you the joy and hope which this occasion has inspired in all of us. I am proud of Manitowoc County—proud of what you have this day contributed to the life of this state and nation. All over the nation there has come a creeping sense of confusion and indifference. You have not only pointed the way out of these stupefying fogs; you are leading the way. You are leading to a rediscovery of the blessings and richness of what it means to be an American; to appreciate, understand, and use the instrumentalities of self-government. You are leading to a rediscovery of the fact that the foundation of this self-government is in our local units—our townships, our villages, our cities, and our counties. Today the eyes of the state and the nation are focused on Manitowoc. You have set a worthy example. Continue to lead the way."

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Chief Justice Rosenberry then administered the oath of allegiance which the seven hundred new voters repeated after him as follows: "I do solemnly swear that I will support the constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of Wisconsin and the laws enacted pursuant thereto, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties and obligations of a citizen of the state of Wisconsin to the best of my ability, so help me God."

The principal address of the afternoon was delivered by Dr. Dykstra which, though brief, was stirring. After referring to the ceremonies practiced by our tribal ancestors in recognition of the transition from boyhood to manhood and the dedication of young men to the service of the tribe, Dr. Dykstra pointed out that up to now no ritual of this kind has remained in our democratic society. Continuing, he said:

"This ceremony at Manitowoc today is an attempt to repair this long omission. Here is youth, seven hundred strong, about to assume the burden of adulthood in a free society. You have experienced a period of training for this new enterprise. You have caught a new enthusiasm for democratic processes and possibilities. You know something of your obligations as citizens. You are organized as a convention of young voters.

"Young people, as you look about, as you read your papers, you realize that our governments in many places have become corrupted and are no longer representative of the whole citizenship. Small groups of partisans and sometimes one person use the political device which we call gov-

ernment for exploitation and even for personal gain. Such a course is not wholesome; nor is it wise for a democracy to allow the perversion of its own processes or aims.

A PLEA FOR DEMOCRACY

"Deeply imbedded in our legal and social history are the general doctrines of the rights of men. It is a manifest duty of Americans to protect these individual rights as the occasion demands. We must defend to the uttermost our ancient freedom —free speech and assembly and the right to worship as we will. We must defend life and liberty and what Jefferson called, 'the pursuit of happiness.' In modern terms this last phrase means the right to make a living through access to opportunity, to work and care for a family. This is a difficult thing to do in the modern world, but it is incumbent upon us to work at it—to bring it to pass. The validity and the perpetuation of the democratic way of life are bound up in a solution of this problem."

After setting forth some of the challenges facing the young voters who on that day assumed the obligations of citizenship, Dr. Dykstra concluded his address:

"Today the democratic way is challenged the world over. Millions —hundreds of millions—have turned their backs upon it. They are persuaded that it is easier to cast their burdens upon someone who will carry the load and give the orders. They have sacrificed their freedoms by so doing. You are a portion of the youth of America who will eventually decide whether our complex problems can be solved by a democratic process which preserves our freedoms.

"Democracy is the hard way—the difficult road.

"Today I commend to you the hard road. Your fathers have traveled it for centuries. Continue upon it, and keep it open. Millions still to be born have the right to be born free—you cannot sell their birthright for a mess of pottage.

"Today set out with courage and stout hearts. Sing your marching songs. Hold high the banner. Let freedom ring! Yes, let it ring—but also, *let freedom live and work.*"

Certificates of Citizenship, signed by various county officials and bearing the seal of the Board of Supervisors, were then presented to the new voters.

The president of the Twenty-One-Year-Old Voters, Jerome Mahlberg, speaking on behalf of the class of 1939, took as his subject, "We Accept the Challenge." From the vigorous, forthright method of his delivery, it was easy to see why the group had elected him as its president. He concluded his remarks by presenting on behalf of the young voters a newly designed flag of Manitowoc County.

ALL FAITHS PARTICIPATE

A feature of the program which brought out its nonsectarian character was the participation by religious leaders of various faiths. Invocation was pronounced by the Rt. Rev. Harwood Sturtevant, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. A prayer was offered by Rabbi David Shapiro of Green Bay, Wisconsin,

while the benediction was pronounced by Dr. Raphael C. McCarthy, S.J., president of Marquette University, Milwaukee. Perhaps it was because these leaders spoke with such deep conviction upon matters concerning the political faith common to all American citizens that the audience was unexpectedly moved by their remarks, but in each case, their prayers were followed by vigorous applause —a circumstance new in the author's experience.

Comments from the press and citizens throughout the country are too numerous and extensive to include in this report. It is interesting to note, however, that enthusiastic endorsement and praise were given not only by President Roosevelt, members of his cabinet, and senators and representatives, but by educators, writers, cartoonists, film producers, and others whose influence is nation-wide. As a further indication of the interest attached to the Manitowoc celebration, a part of the program was broadcast by N. B. C. over a nation-wide hookup, and one of the principal radio magazines devoted its leading article to a discussion of the significance of the event.

One aspect which impressed itself indelibly on those present was the remarkable quality of leadership in Manitowoc County exemplified by those who served on both the general and subcommittees. The activity presented an almost perfect cross-section of the county, uniting its citizens in a spontaneous community activity of deepest significance for Americanism, democracy, and peace.

The elimination of negative and derogatory references to adverse activities in the United States, such as Communism, Fascism, and Nazism, and the emphasis on *Americanism in action* afforded the most convincing answer to all foreign "isms." The celebration was a demonstration of American democracy in conception and method. A remarkable feature was the exclusion of political or partisan considerations and influences as well as personalities. Leading members of various parties, faiths, and civic organizations submerged their own interests and personalities in the common cause of American citizenship. Unlike most projects involving the action of entire counties, there was no antagonism between rural and urban residents.

The celebration was a fitting recognition of American youth in normal, constructive activity. It often happens that groups of young people working spontaneously like to have the limelight of publicity thrown on them because of pranks or foolishness. In this case, however, these young people were given full opportunity to express their conception of their place in the body politic and they were made the center of a new type of political activity. Not only did they perfect their own organization, but, through the local radio station, they helped in the county-wide education of both the new and the older voters.

The technique used in explaining the facts of government was notable for its simplicity and dramatic visualization as contrasted with the usual imponderable treatment of

bstractions in governmental theory. Responsibility for individual initiative and action was placed upon all citizens, but especially upon the young voters. In a unique and new fashion the principles of patriotism were given practical, dramatic appeal in the floats, addresses, and methods of organization used throughout the project. The whole plan seems to open the door for future programs of education in governmental policies and procedures in all units from the township to the nation.

Contrary to the present trend of thought that counties as political units are becoming decadent and should be merged in larger groups, the demonstration of Manitowoc County indicated that there is a new job for county units in building up an appreciation for and a vital belief in the functions of local government.

Dr. Colbert, in summing up his conclusions as to the spiritual value of the celebration said:

"I had been impressed by the depth of the depression paralysis that had crept over community life, and was amazed to see how this project revived that dormant community spirit. This was, in fact, the first time the Manitowoc community had really had a full fledged demonstration of community spirit since the World War period. One of the prominent business men said to me prior to the celebration, when we were discussing the prospects of the weather for Sunday: 'Let's not worry so much about the weather. The real fruits of this year's work are already developed. I have personally gotten more out of it than any of these youngsters. I have met more people during the past three months than I have met in the last five years. I had not been aware how far I had crawled into my shell during this depression. I am indeed grateful that I have been brought to realize this fact, and have gotten a great satisfaction out of being put back into circulation!'

"Again, I had felt that the community could not help but benefit by starting our youngsters on programs of community life as early as they could receive their responsibilities. However, it remained for the county convention of the new voters to impress upon me the fact that we were here launching hundreds of young men and women into civic responsibility, whereas many of them might not otherwise have gotten started.

"Another feature which impressed me was that there were a few of the young men especially who were quite cynical about the prospects of democracy and of our economic and political future. This cynical attitude was largely the result of their being unable to comprehend a way of making their influence felt, or of expressing their problems. After going through the training program, it was apparent that their attitudes had changed from negative to positive."

Speaking of the value of a better understanding between the average citizen and his elected representatives, Dr. Colbert continued:

"I cannot speak too enthusiastically about the generous and helpful way in which all of the local officials cooperated. It was an inspiring sight to see the old county board members sitting among those youngsters, answering their questions, and thinking along with them. Frankly, they got

as much out of the training program and the whole affair as any of the younger folks. At any rate, it was a demonstration of the relation which the citizen must have to his government. We have too long gone on the basis of electing a man to office and then assuming that everything that government does is wrong, wasteful, or corrupt. There must be a more fundamental citizen-participation not only at the polls, but in the actual operation of government."

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

The Wisconsin state legislature, by passing a resolution endorsing the annual celebration of Citizenship Day, has given official recognition of its value in that state. More than thirty-eight counties in Wisconsin are planning to celebrate the day in 1940 and the general interest throughout the country has been such as to exhaust the printed matter published by the Extension Department of the university.

The Program Committee in Manitowoc is projecting a five-year plan for general subjects and parades in later years. For example, in one year the floats will represent significant events affecting American citizenship which transpired during the terms of each President of the United States. It has also suggested holding contests and offering prizes to groups of young voters for the best subjects for floats in subsequent years. In this connection, it is interesting to note that in the Manitowoc plan each graduating class will become responsible for the successful organization and training of the succeeding year's class.

It would be unwise to attempt to predict the future of this movement for Citizenship Day. Manitowoc County hopes and believes Citizenship Day will spread through the state and nation in 1940. It insists that the way to save democracy is to prove that democracy works. It offers Citizenship Day as a means of helping democracy work better by developing in the average citizen a deeper appreciation and understanding of what democracy really means.

MANAGING MINNESOTA

(Continued from Page 498)

year will be "blanketed in" under civil service automatically without examination under the terms of this act. Those added during the five years preceding August 1st must take a qualifying examination. Persons can be added to the payroll after August 1st only through competitive examination. It is hoped that by the middle of next year, the system will be in full operation. The day of the spoils system in dispensing state jobs is ended, forced collections from state employees for political purposes stand outlawed. Employees in the future will gain and hold their positions on merit.

With the improvement in personnel that will result from this policy and the advantages in administration that will come from the reorganization of state departments, we are going forward in Minnesota, I confidently believe, to a newer and better type of state government.

Legislative Highlights of 1939

By HUBERT R. GALLAGHER, *The Council of State Governments*

Recent sessions distinguished by what they did not do rather than by what they did; administrative reorganization, finance and taxation, public welfare and health, labor, among important questions debated.

THE adjournment of thirty of the forty-four state legislatures which met this year permits a summary review of the legislative product of 1939. With eighteen Republican governors in office and with Republican majorities controlling the legislatures of half the states in session this year, it was early apparent that legislators would face the usual dilemma of incoming administrations: the necessity for simultaneous enactment of economy measures and of provisions to take care of political adherents.

Following the age-old political formula, no time was lost in shifting functions and reorganizing bureaus to make room for deserving and frequently well qualified party workers. Thus, in the onrush for patronage, administration suffered and civil service reform in general was temporarily set back. A number of state planning boards were also attacked by this political virus, and their lives were snuffed out almost before they had cut teeth. However, a wave of "ripper" legislation is always to be expected following an overturn election such as the country experienced last November.

Somewhat unexpected, however, were the scandals with which both Democratic and Republican legislatures had to contend. The misdoings of Democratic state and local officials in Missouri, Pennsylvania, and New York, and Republican scandals in California and Michigan were on the minds of the legislators of these states. An unusual number of examples of official malfeasance were also brought to the attention of legislatures in Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Minnesota, Montana, and Ohio. Legislators themselves were ensnared by some of these investigations. On the credit side, the rapidity and thoroughness with which these exposés were made and the official house-cleanings which followed attest to the fact that public officials and legislators are constantly improving in quality and in character.

These, however, were the happenings which occupied the headlines. The legislators' emotion over official corruption and their usual desire for party preference were soon overshadowed by problems of reorganization, pensions, labor, education, and, of course, finance.

Labor got little and education met with some reverses when the legislative box score was added up. Business interests and farm groups which

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—It is manifestly impossible to enumerate or describe in detail all or any considerable part of the legislation passed during the present sessions. In a number of states whose legislatures have adjourned, the governors may yet veto measures passed by their legislatures. This article then hits only the highlights and in a general fashion indicates how the legislatures dealt with important issues facing them. The reader is warned that it is too early to describe accurately and completely the legislative product of the past sessions.

had backed the Republican ticket in the large industrial and farming states on the strength of campaign promises that taxes and expenditures would be reduced were rewarded by savings estimated to amount to $100,000,000 in some twenty states. There is no question but that before the change in administrations there was waste and extravagance in many of the states. Ohio and Pennsylvania come to mind as examples of states whose finances were left in shambles by outgoing administrations. In other states where savings reputedly have been made, the test will come in making them stick. For example, as a result of legislative oversights of the present session, Michigan will be on emergency rations, and a special session will undoubtedly be needed to stave off bankruptcy. The New York Court of Appeals has held unconstitutional the budget of the Republican legislature which substituted lump-sum appropriations for line items in cutting $25,000,000 from the Governor's $415,000,000 budget. An extra session has just convened, and the Republicans will be forced to find other ways to cut the budget, or to enact the party-splitting sales tax as an alternative.

Many of the state administrations, both Republican and Democratic, have not been adverse to pulling the same budget-balancing tricks that critics of the New Deal accuse it of doing. Thus, although a budget may be balanced when the session adjourns, it is not unusual to find a legislature continuing past deficits by enacting the executive budget or a general appropriation bill but failing to assess the necessary taxes to balance.

FEW NEW TAXES

In a majority of the states where legislatures have adjourned, governors and legislators ran on a pledge of "no new taxes." At the risk of leaving some budgets unbalanced, legislators assessed relatively few new taxes. A cigarette tax of two cents a pack was levied in New York and Rhode Island, which brings to twenty-three the number of states assessing this type of tax. The imposition of a 2 per cent use tax was approved in Alabama, New Mexico and North Dakota; a 3 per cent tax was assessed in South Dakota and North Carolina; and in Alabama a use tax was substituted for the present sales levy. Liquor taxes were raised in Arkansas, Delaware, Indiana, Maryland, Montana, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont and Washington. North Dakota increased the gas tax one cent and levied a transaction tax on intoxicating beverages. South Dakota levied a tax on chain stores ranging from $1 to $150. California and Illinois codified their property tax laws. A classified income tax was enacted in Maryland, and taxes on corporate incomes went up from one-half to one and one-half per cent. New diesel fuel taxes appeared in Nevada and Oklahoma.

These are some of the more important tax changes of the year. There were, of course, hundreds of minor amendments to the various state tax laws. Many of the states solved their tax problems temporarily

by doing as Pennsylvania did, re-enacting the entire tax program of the previous biennium, thus placing the blame on former colleagues and administrations.

ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION

If a time record were kept, it would probably show that as much attention was given to the work of reshuffling bureaus and the consideration of reorganization plans as was devoted to the far more important problems of finance and taxation. Many of these plans effected an integration of the state government and directly resulted, and rightfully so, in placing more power in the hands of the governor. These administrative improvements were hailed far and wide as great accomplishments of a number of "favorite son" candidates for 1940 by the same partisan papers that charged dictatorship and Communism a few months previously when the President's Committee on Administrative Management recommended similar principles in its plans to reorganize the federal government.

The Rhode Island legislature passed Governor Vanderbilt's plan for reorganization of the state government, abolishing entirely the present structure of administrative "divisions" and making broad reallocations of departmental functions, thus saving $1,000,000 annually in state operating expenses. The act vests sweeping powers in the Governor and in the department directors to set up any subdivisions or administrative units within the major departments which may be necessary. The principal section of the administrative act as passed set up an integrated Department of Coördination and Finance to supervise all of the fiscal functions of the state, including budget preparation and control, centralized purchasing, tax administration, accounting, and control of changes in personnel. Other sections of the act established a Legislative Council[1] and a Commission on Interstate Coöperation.

An estimated $500,000 saving a year was predicted in Iowa as a result of its reorganization and consolidation program. Under the new State Department of Public Safety were placed the motor vehicle department, the highway patrol licensing and registration division, and numerous investigative and police units of the state. Legislative budgeting of the State Highway Commission expenditures was also authorized. The former Board of Assessment and Review was changed to the State Tax Commission, and the collection of all taxes was centered in the commission. Altogether, the legislature considered sixty-six reorganization bills, passed fifty-one, killed one, incorporated three in other bills, and allowed eleven to die.

Centralized budget control was established in Maryland through the creation of a Department of Budget and Procurement. This change also resulted in the abolishment of the purchasing agent. A Legislative Council of fifteen members, fourteen of them legislators, was established. Maryland legislators ended the old coroner system through the substi-

[1] As yet inoperative since minority members have refused to accept appointment.

tution of medical examiners, and in addition replaced the Parole Commission with a board and reorganized the People's Court in Baltimore. Abolished also were the office of loan commissioner, the Department of Mechanical Engineering, the State Veterans' Commission, and the fee system for justices of the peace.

KANSAS SHUFFLES DEPARTMENTS

Kansas also enacted legislation to reorganize departments and commissions of the state government. The Fish and Game Commission was recreated on strictly nonpartisan lines, and a merit system for that agency was installed. The Board of Regents was recreated along bipartisan lines and, as in Iowa, a full-time Board of Social Welfare was established to take the place of a larger part-time board. The Motor Vehicle Commission was abolished and its duties transferred to the Highway Commission. A new Department of Revenue and Taxation was created in which are consolidated all the tax-collecting agencies of the state. A Board of Administration was established to control penal institutions and to supervise parole and probation in the state. An Industrial Development Commission was set up for the purpose of encouraging industry to move to Kansas. Meanwhile the Pennsylvania legislature established a Department of Commerce and Industry with an $800,000 appropriation to entice business back to the Keystone State.

The Bureau of Criminal Identification and the State Travel and Tourist Bureau were abolished in Oklahoma. The state Planning and Resources Board was reorganized, and the number of commissioners reduced from nine to five. The State Tax Commission was revamped, as was the State Industrial Commission and the State Highway Commission. Legislation was also adopted consolidating the state legal staffs in the office of the attorney general, and a bill was enacted setting up a pre-audit system for disbursing state funds, requiring contracts and claims to be approved by the state auditor before becoming legal, and prohibiting the expenditure of more funds than appropriated. A Legislative Council composed of fifteen representatives and ten senators was established as the research arm of the legislature.

Despite the fact that reorganization of state government in Colorado was the most discussed topic before the session, Republican administration bills for creating a more compact administrative structure died in the Democratic Senate. A proposed revision of the fiscal code also failed.

In Wyoming the Governor's recommendations for reorganization of the state Game and Fish Departments, and for the consolidation of the positions of purchasing agent and secretary of the Charities and Reform Board were approved, as well as his suggested consolidation of the State Planning and Water Conservation Boards.

The State Department of Finance was abolished in Vermont and its work transferred to the office of the treasurer and auditor. The State Board of Conservation was given regulatory powers for the protection

of fish and game, and a new Department of Industrial Relations was established.

The Idaho legislature revised the liquor control act, placing enforcement definitely in counties. The Departments of Public Welfare and Public Assistance were consolidated and placed under a non-political five-man board. A State Insurance Fund Commission was established, as was a state police force. Various bureaus and departments were placed on budgets, and the duties of the state purchasing agent were redefined.

The Governor was given more authority over the State Highway Department in Arizona when the former Highway Commission was abolished. Arizona also unified and integrated the budget and expenditure system of the state.

Tennessee passed legislation enabling impoverished counties to consolidate, creating a Conservation Commission and authorizing the Department of Conservation to fight stream pollution.

COUNTY AMENDMENT

North Dakota approved a constitutional amendment giving the legislature power to establish machinery for the consolidation and dissolution of counties, and also to provide optional forms of government for counties. The amendment will be submitted to the voters at the next general election.

Minor administrative consolidations were affected in Arizona, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Montana, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and South Dakota.

To date seventeen states have civil service laws in effect. There were four new additions this year—Alabama, Minnesota, New Mexico, and Rhode Island. The legislatures of these states passed bills establishing civil service in their states. In Rhode Island especially, where the Public Administration Service carried through a complete reorganization of the state government, a strong civil service provision was included in the new administrative act. As a result of this law, some 85 per cent of state employees will be chosen from the new civil service rolls. The principal setback of the year occurred in Arkansas, where the legislature repealed its civil service law. Another setback was experienced in Michigan where the civil service administration was reorganized and the number of employees in the classified service was reduced from 15,000 to 7,000. The Massachusetts civil service system was reorganized as a result of recent legislation. A part-time five-member commission and a personnel director will supplant the former three-member salaried commission with its chairman-administrator. Other changes in civil service, but relatively unimportant, were made in Colorado, Idaho, Ohio, and Tennessee. Governor Herbert R. O'Conor of Maryland courageously vetoed a measure substituting a three-member commission and director of personnel for the present commissioner of employment and registration, who had ably administered the state's merit system.

WELFARE PROBLEMS

The election campaigns of last fall and the constitutional amendments

before the voters then clearly indicated that pensions and other welfare problems would continue to claim the attention of the legislators when they convened in January. This prophecy was borne out, according to the American Public Welfare Association, by the introduction of over seven hundred old-age assistance bills, seeking mainly to liberalize aid for the aged. A few of them passed, and these few provided generally for amendments to redefine eligibility for aid, and occasionally to broaden coverage. In a number of states, bills asking an increase in pensions precipitated fights between the governor and the legislature. The scrap in Texas still continues and has delayed adjournment of the legislature in that state for a number of weeks. Many of the states tightened their laws by changing the concept of old-age pensions from a "right" to one that pensions should be paid only to those actually in need. Few states earmarked taxes to finance old-age assistance, generally preferring to take these moneys from their general funds. Exceptions to this are Utah, where all sales tax revenues, and Oklahoma and Wyoming, where consumers' taxes, are earmarked for old-age assistance. Iowa will henceforth draw on her income, corporate, and sales tax revenues to finance an increase in old-age assistance funds from $5,500,000 to $7,000,000. In Maine a law was enacted requiring municipalities to share costs of old-age assistance. Cities and towns would receive $800,000 in state highway funds to reimburse them for funds contributed to old-age assistance.

Considerable unemployment compensation legislation has been passed to conform to recommendations of the Advisory Council on Social Security of the Social Security Board. These changes will be reported at a later date by the American Public Welfare Association.

Progress continued to be made in approving the pattern for administrative organization of the state welfare departments. Important changes aimed at integrating and otherwise improving administration were made in Arkansas, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Oregon, Tennessee, and Washington.

LABOR GETS LITTLE

So disappointing were the legislative sessions to all factions of labor that it is predicted that in 1940 the A. F. of L. will forget its quarrel with the New Deal and the C. I. O. and vote the straight Democratic ticket. Reverses suffered by labor were many; for instance, legislation regulating lockouts and picketing and facilitating the settlement of industrial disputes was approved in Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin.

Pennsylvania relaxed the anti-injunction laws to permit courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes under certain conditions. The legislature drastically amended the "Little Wagner Act" of 1937 by giving employers the right to appeal for elections in labor disputes, outlawing sitdown strikes, and redefining unfair labor practices.

In West Virginia labor also got little. The miners certification bill

for the purpose of insuring union control of a miner was so emasculated that it will be of little value to the organizers of labor. Legislation establishing a state Labor Relations Board, an anti-injunction bill, and another measure providing for wages and hours regulation failed of passage. Similar measures failed in Wyoming and a number of other states.

Even the combined backing of the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., and other labor forces failed to bring the enactment in Colorado of such measures as a state wages and hours act, a Little Wagner bill, and a bill liberalizing unemployment compensation.

Comment in a leading southern paper in some respects tells what happened throughout the land, for according to the Raleigh, North Carolina, *News and Observer*, "the General Assembly of 1939 established the neat record of having devoted more consideration through its committees on labor to labor legislation than any of its predecessors and yet being the first legislature in many years not to pass a single law in the interest of labor."

Agricultural interests also gained little at the hands of those legislatures which have adjourned. In the past the agricultural block has usually been even more potent than the number of farmers seated in the legislatures would warrant.[2]

Possibly legislators were following the lead of one midwestern governor who, in washing his hands of the state's agricultural problem, quite accurately said that it was a national and international problem and therefore beyond his control. In any event, with the exception of the passage of soil conservation laws and amendments to former conservation statutes in Iowa, Montana, Vermont, and a few other states, little was done. The Oregon legislature did, however, devote considerable time to the work of recodifying its agricultural laws. The establishment of state forests and state acquisition of cut-over lands in that state was also authorized by the legislature. In the state of Washington the legislature approved legislation regulating commission merchants and setting up a licensing system for buyers of agricultural products.

The problem of milk control continued to harass legislators in milkshed states serving New York, Chicago, and Boston. The recent Supreme Court case upholding the federal milk marketing law came along just in time to relieve the state legislators of many of their worries.

PUBLIC HEALTH MEASURES

In the public health field, the legislatures of Iowa, Maine, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Vermont passed special enabling acts permitting nonprofit hospital service plans under regulation of their insurance departments. Legislation permitting group (coöperative) medical and dental care was approved in Utah.

Laws requiring premarital blood tests were approved in Colorado, Indiana, North Carolina, Pennsylvania,

[2] Personnel figures compiled by the Council of State Governments show that 25 per cent of the country's lawmakers are farmers.

South Dakota, and West Virginia; and prenatal blood tests of prospective mothers were authorized in Iowa, Colorado, Oklahoma, and South Dakota. In Oklahoma the examination can be made only on request—a compromise measure.

Tennessee went even further when the legislature passed a law (not to become effective until another General Assembly has met) requiring examinations for all communicable social diseases before issuance of a marriage license.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Legislative changes having to do with law enforcement were relatively unimportant. Among them were the following:

West Virginia created a model system of parole and probation with a full-time director and staff, provided for indeterminate sentences for felonies, and streamlined the state's minor judiciary. A drastic slot machine law was enacted in Oklahoma providing for the removal of county officials where slot machines and other gambling devices operate openly for a considerable length of time. North Dakota passed acts providing that the attorney general act as prosecutor when the governor orders the removal of an officer, defining burglary in the third degree to include breaking into a motor vehicle or trailer, and increasing the fine on conviction for engaging in marijuana traffic. Utah hereafter will require branding of livestock and has established regulations to combat rustling. West Virginia made participation in a "numbers lottery" a felony, including a provision in the law that possession of a "numbers" slip shall be considered prima facie evidence of such participation. Old blue laws were wiped off the books in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Maine with the legalization of Sunday motion pictures.

Knowing the good thing they had, legislators in Nevada increased the "take" from pari-mutuel machines at horse races from 10 to 12 per cent. Track operators were appeased, however, by the repealing of an act prohibiting racing on Sunday. Legalization of horse racing in Wyoming failed, but in New York the legislature authorized a vote on a constitutional amendment permitting pari-mutuel betting on horse races.

LEGISLATIVE ODDITIES

Nevada passed legislation requiring employers who collect the tips given by patrons to employees to post notices to that effect.

A proposed constitutional amendment was suggested in Oklahoma which would permit women to run for governor and other elective offices.

A bonus of $25,000 was voted for the first producer of an Iowa oil well.

South Dakota provided for reimbursement to holders of 1937 elk hunting permits *who did not secure an elk.*

Legislation authorizing a popular vote on pari-mutuel betting had previously been passed by the New Jersey legislature. Nineteen states at present legally permit pari-mutuel betting at race tracks.

On the negative side, the fate of the following proposals should be noted:

State planning boards were abolished in Minnesota, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, and Texas. All proposals for the extension of civil service died in Iowa, North Dakota, Oregon, and South Dakota. State civil service was repealed outright in Arkansas.

In Maine a state lottery, pari-mutuel dog racing, and a $30-a-week-for-life pension plan, as well as a memorial to Congress on behalf of the proposed Townsend plan legislation, failed of passage.

Iowa, New York, and Oregon killed bills to establish legislative councils.

The administration was defeated in Pennsylvania with regard to milk control and revision of the state's liquor and beer system. The latter battle was won by the brewing interests. Another major bill killed was home rule legislation giving the cities the right to choose their own form of government. Optional charters for Philadelphia and Pittsburgh were also defeated.

The Pennsylvania Senate also killed enabling legislation permitting compacts for the abatement of pollution of the Ohio, Potomac, and Delaware Rivers. Failure to secure passage of these compacts was credited largely to an adverse report by the Department of Health which had, strangely enough, assisted in their drafting, and to the reluctance of industries abutting on the rivers to incur the expense of proper treatment of their waste products.

Tennessee rejected proposals to permit horse racing and pari-mutuel betting and declined to repeal the law prohibiting teaching of the theory of evolution in state-supported schools.

From personal observation in ten states and from reports from others, certain notable improvements in the legislatures were apparent. First, the state legislator of 1939 was generally an earnest, sincere, hardworking official who approached the state's multifarious problems with less emotion and more intelligence than in the past. There were more bills introduced and fewer enacted, if we are to judge by reports from twenty-three states indicating that 25,142 bills were introduced and 7,743 laws enacted, as compared with 24,615 bills introduced and 8,275 laws enacted for the same states in 1937. It seems evident that it was more difficult to get measures enacted than at previous sessions and that probably more time and consideration were given to important measures. Second, well financed, professional lobbyists were not so much in evidence as at former sessions, nor, with the exception of Massachusetts and New York, were mass movements of large pressure groups, such as pensioners, union sympathizers, taxpayers, or teachers, in evidence in such droves as they were at previous sessions.

In general and with some notable

(Continued on Page 566)

Ohio Tends Her Tax-Limited Localities

By CARLTON S. DARGUSCH, *Tax Consultant, Senate Taxation Committee, 1939 Ohio Legislature*
and
JOHN N. HART, *Ohio State Department of Taxation*

Cities steadily decrease debt burdens, but stringent tax limitation places them in need of state aid for support of schools, poor relief, and other vital functions.

OHIO has a total of 864 municipalities of which 110 are cities with a population of 5,000 or over as of the 1930 federal census. It need hardly be pointed out that Ohio is somewhat unique with regard to the number of cities within her borders in relationship to population. Out of these 110 cities twenty-three had a population in excess of 30,000 and eight in excess of 100,000. Massachusetts, with her nine cities, is the only other state that has more cities than Ohio with a population of 100,000.

Approximately 40 per cent of Ohio's population is concentrated in these eight large cities, 64 per cent in the 110 cities, and 75 per cent in cities and villages. Property tax rates in the cities are generally above the state average: it is an accepted fact that government costs more in urban communities than it does in rural areas.

Ohio's experience with tax limitation has been studied and written about for a number of years.[1] Our present tax limitation, which is ten mills, was written into the state constitution at the election in 1933 and took effect January 1, 1934. It did not affect the collection of revenues, however, prior to the year 1935. Thus the state has had five years of experience under this limitation and it is with these five years that this article will be concerned primarily.

The authors would like to make it clear that they are not in sympathy with tax limitation by constitutional amendment, first from the point of view of legislating through the constitution and second as a method of controlling public expenditure. This does not mean, however, that all of the effects of tax limitation in Ohio have been bad.

The effect of the ten-mill limitation in Ohio as far as the financing of local government is concerned has been to increase to a marked degree the levy of state taxes for local purposes, including poor relief. After the adoption of the ten-mill limitation in 1933 the state was compelled to embark upon a reorganization of the tax system. To this end excise taxes were enacted or re-enacted, including sales, use, beer, malt, admissions, public utility, cigarette, and liquid fuel taxes. Without question, tax limitation in Ohio has tended to centralize government and to shift the responsibility for financing local government to the state.

There has been a marked tendency in Ohio in the past two decades to transfer to the state the financing of what historically have been locally financed functions and this change

[1] George L. Leffler and G. Burman Curry, *Ohio Cities Battle the Depression*, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1935.

was accelerated by the ten-mill limitation. This tendency was first marked by the passage of the gasoline tax in 1925, which made possible the financing of road improvements and their maintenance out of excise taxes rather than real property taxes and assessments. The next marked change occurred in 1933 when the legislature diverted one cent of the gasoline tax for public school purposes under the guise of a liquid fuel tax. This was quickly followed by the enactment of other excise taxes, including the sales tax, which now contribute very substantial amounts for poor relief, schools, and general functions of local government. Table I gives the amount of state-collected taxes distributed back to local governments.

The state of Ohio does not levy taxes upon tangible property for the support of state government as the state is supported almost entirely through the levy of excise taxes.

At the outset of the ten-mill limitation it appeared that under the decisions of the Supreme Court of Ohio subdivisions would be substantially hampered in their activities by reason of the decision in the Portsmouth case[2] in which the Supreme Court held that all indebtedness, including items which were serviced from other sources than general taxation, was to be considered in determining the ability of a subdivision to incur indebtedness. This had the effect, among other things, of requiring the inclusion of special assessment and municipal public utility bonds and substantially restricted the issuance of bonds for a time.

TABLE I
STATE-COLLECTED LOCALLY-SHARED TAXES AND LICENSES, OHIO, 1938

(In thousands of dollars)

Tax	*Net Collections*	*Distribution*	
		State	*Local Governments*
Retail sales	$39,112	$ 8,312	$30,800
Gasoline excise	36,024	20,263	15,761
Motor vehicle license	23,935	7,634	16,301
Liquid fuel excise	12,641	53	12,588
Cigarette excise	7,049	239	6,810
State situs intangibles	6,298	252	6,046
Public utility excise	5,847	3,564	2,283
Beer and liquor permits	5,701	—	5,701
Admissions	1,602	—	1,602
Bottled beer (3.2%)	958	—	958
Use	735	—	735
Motor transportation	469	329	140
Malt and wort	35	—	35
TOTAL	140,406	40,646	99,760
Per cent of Total	100.00	28.95	71.05

Source: Department of Taxation, Research Division

By a number of recent decisions[3]

[2] *State ex rel. Portsmouth* v. *Kountz, mayor et al.*, 129 O. S. 272 (1935).

[3] *State ex rel. Ohio National Bank of Columbus* v. *City of Parma et al.*, 130 O. S. 396 (1936); *State ex rel. The Alden Corporation* v. *Village of Solon et al.*, 132 O. S. 362 (1937); *State ex rel. Ohio Na-*

the Supreme Court has held that a bondholder owning bonds issued prior to the effective date of the tax limitation amendment may require the levy of taxes at the rates permitted at the time the bonds were issued. For example, in the Hudson case the court held that the constitutional tax limitation is directed against new and not pre-existing debts. The decisions quoted have relieved subdivisions somewhat by permitting the levy of taxes outside of the limitation for pre-existing indebtedness.

The position of local governments in Ohio would be improved if article XII, section 2, of the Ohio constitution (ten-mill limitation) were amended so as to provide that the entire ten mills shall be available for current operating purposes by placing outside of the limitation all existing debt levies and with the provision that no future debt may be placed inside the ten-mill limitation except in emergencies such as occasioned by catastrophe and then only upon advice and consent of the State Department of Taxation.

REFUNDING NECESSARY

Another marked result of the ten-mill limitation has been the general policy of refunding maturing indebtedness for the purpose of freeing millage for operating purposes. This has occurred in the past four years on a widespread scale throughout the entire state. Such refunding has taken place under the provisions of the general code which now provide that a subdivision may refund its maturing indebtedness any time before December 31, 1940, where no other means of payment exist.[4] This practice was sustained by the Supreme Court of Ohio in the Stauss and Wellston cases.[5] In the Wellston case it was held that a city could refund existing obligations issued outside of the ten-mill limitation and levy taxes therefor outside of said limitation.

While the financial condition of municipalities has improved immeasurably in Ohio in the last few years, poor relief requirements still remain one of the principal municipal and township burdens. Under the laws of Ohio the responsibility for poor relief until recently has been placed largely upon municipalities and townships.[6] Under the poor relief administration act,[7] however, passed by the General Assembly in June, the responsibility for poor relief administration has been vested in the county commissioners outside of cities and in city officials within the corporate limits of cities. Under the new poor relief law, local authorities will make poor relief expenditures and be reimbursed by the state for such expenditures within the limits of state appropriations and not exceeding 50 per cent of local expenditures. Recognizing the partial inability of local subdivisions to raise poor relief moneys, three measures have been enacted by

tional Bank of Columbus v. *Village of Hudson et al.*, 134 O. S. 150 (1938).

[4]The Ninety-third General Assembly, 1939, Senate bill 20.

[5]*State ex rel. Stauss* v. *County of Cuyahoga et al.*, 130 O. S. 64 (1935). *State ex rel. Industrial Commission of Ohio* v. *Steel, mayor*, 1930 O. S. 90 (1935).

[6]Section 3476 of the General Code of Ohio.

[7]The Ninety-third General Assembly, 1939, House bill 675.

the current General Assembly:

1. The state appropriation bill[8] provides for the appropriation of $10,000,000 of state general funds for the reimbursement of local subdivisions for poor relief expenditures in each of the years 1939 and 1940.

FUNDS FOR POOR RELIEF

2. In order to provide local moneys for poor relief purposes, two bills have been enacted: (a) Senate bill 40, permitting the borrowing of 25 per cent of motor vehicle license tax revenues for 1939 and 1940 for poor relief purposes and 10 per cent of the city portion only for payment of salaries of traffic officers. The gross poor relief funds available under this act in each of said years will be approximately $4,250,000. (b) The enactment of legislation[9] reducing the voting requirement for poor relief levies to a majority vote in 1939 and 55 per cent in 1940. This legislation is applicable only to cities and the levy cannot exceed one and one-half mills.

Temporary relief was secured this year for municipal corporations incurring deficits in general funds or for relief purposes by the passage of the Milroy act[10] which permitted the funding of such deficits to and including December 31, 1938, by the issuance of bonds within the ten-mill limitation. The legislation in question was passed primarily for the benefit of Toledo, and supplements the laws[11] permitting the issuance of deficiency bonds against delinquent taxes.

The state school foundation program became effective in 1936.[12] It provides for the contribution by the state to school districts of flat amounts of $30.60 per year for elementary pupils and $45.90 per year for high school pupils, with certain provisions for equalization and the payment of tuition and transportation costs. This law has meant that the state now contributes to the financing of local schools approximately $50,000,000 a year against a total distribution of state-collected taxes in 1933 of approximately $6,351,000 and has reduced to a marked extent the requirements of schools from local tax sources.

TAX RATES

Table II gives the total tax rates inside and outside the limitation for municipal purposes only in the eight large cities and selected other cities with a population of 30,000 in Ohio in 1933 and 1938. These 1933 rates upon which taxes were collected in 1934 were those in effect the last year of the fifteen-mill limitation. The 1938 rates, of course, are the current rates under which taxes are being collected in 1939. It will be noted from this table that in many cities the total rates for municipal purposes are just about as high, and in some cases even higher, than they were in 1933.

Table III gives the same information for school purposes. These rates are generally lower than they were in 1933 but this is due primarily to

[8]Ninety-third General Assembly, 1939, House bill 674.

[9]Senate bill 4.

[10]Senate bill 73.

[11]Sections 2293-43 and 2293-43a of the General Code of Ohio.

[12]Sections 7595-1 et seq. of the General Code of Ohio.

TABLE II

TOTAL TAX RATES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE LIMITATION FOR MUNICIPAL PURPOSES ONLY, SELECTED CITIES, OHIO, 1933 AND 1938

(Rate per $1,000 of assessed valuation)

City	1933 Current	1933 Debt	1933 Total	1938 Current	1938 Debt	1938 Total
Cleveland	$ 4.52	$ 7.74	$12.26	$10.37	$ 4.97	$15.34
Cincinnati	6.35	3.57	9.92	2.80	6.59	9.39
Toledo	4.14	7.22	11.36	2.30	5.77	8.07
Columbus	2.18	5.47	7.65	1.16	5.64	6.80
Akron	3.55	8.63	12.18	5.81	8.57	14.38
Dayton	3.89	7.69	11.58	4.19	5.34	9.53
Youngstown	2.52	5.93	8.45	3.64	4.30	7.94
Canton	2.89	3.39	6.28	2.74	1.76	4.50
Springfield	3.40	4.67	8.07	2.98	5.39	8.37
Hamilton	3.39	6.20	9.59	2.09	5.53	7.62
Lorain	5.17	3.93	9.10	3.37	2.43	5.80
Portsmouth	4.53	5.04	9.57	3.92	4.30	8.22
Lima	3.00	8.20	11.20	2.83	7.17	10.00
Warren	—	4.78	4.78	1.50	4.20	5.70
Zanesville	4.00	2.90	6.90	3.15	2.35	5.50
Steubenville	4.05	.80	4.85	3.76	.74	4.50
Mansfield	4.10	2.10	6.20	3.17	1.70	4.87
Marion	4.52	5.22	9.74	3.88	3.54	7.42
Newark	3.34	3.83	7.17	3.25	1.84	5.09

Source: Department of Taxation, Research Division

TABLE III

TOTAL TAX RATES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE LIMITATION FOR SCHOOL DISTRICTS ONLY, SELECTED CITIES, OHIO, 1933 AND 1938

(Rate per $1,000 of assessed valuation)

City	1933 Current	1933 Debt	1933 Total	1938 Current	1938 Debt	1938 Total
Cleveland	$ 8.85	$ 2.97	$11.82	$ 8.16	$ 1.84	$10.00
Cincinnati	6.37	1.49	7.86	6.09	1.21	7.30
Toledo	7.05	3.13	10.18	5.41	3.04	8.45
Columbus	5.85	1.20	7.05	6.13	2.17	8.30
Akron	8.16	4.42	12.58	8.02	3.62	11.64
Dayton	6.86	2.44	9.30	4.34	2.84	7.18
Youngstown	8.45	1.96	10.41	3.69	4.64	8.33
Canton	7.90	4.32	12.22	5.85	3.05	8.90
Springfield	6.95	2.15	9.10	5.60	2.10	7.70
Hamilton	5.73	2.58	8.31	4.27	2.34	6.61
Lorain	6.38	2.32	8.70	4.94	1.23	6.17
Portsmouth	6.53	3.36	9.89	2.19	7.20	9.39
Lima	7.73	1.27	9.00	5.93	1.77	7.70
Warren	6.55	4.70	11.25	5.80	2.80	8.60
Zanesville	7.80	2.10	9.90	7.45	2.25	9.70
Steubenville	9.05	1.85	10.90	6.30	1.10	7.40
Mansfield	7.85	2.60	10.45	5.80	1.60	7.40
Marion	7.31	3.94	11.25	5.00	3.54	8.54
Newark	7.45	3.25	10.70	6.14	2.91	9.05

Source: Department of Taxation, Research Division

TABLE IV

TAXES LEVIED ON ALL TANGIBLE PROPERTY FOR SCHOOL AND MUNICIPAL PURPOSES, SELECTED CITIES, OHIO, 1933 AND 1938

(In thousands of dollars)

City	School Levies 1933	School Levies 1938	Municipal Levies 1933	Municipal Levies 1938
Cleveland	$14,107	$12,115	$14,570	$18,262
Cincinnati	6,485	6,082	8,195	7,873
Toledo	4,046	3,696	4,517	3,552
Columbus	2,439	3,004	2,593	2,472
Akron	3,311	3,186	3,200	3,920
Dayton	2,735	2,163	3,349	2,887
Youngstown	2,847	2,194	2,306	2,101
Canton	1,574	1,317	812	672
Total of 8 large cities	37,544	33,757	39,542	41,739
Springfield	712	671	632	703
Hamilton	532	436	611	503
Lorain	637	416	647	386
Portsmouth	490	465	473	406
Lima	439	397	543	516
Warren	560	472	241	314
Zanesville	361	344	253	186
Steubenville	541	389	244	235
Mansfield	481	406	288	265
Marion	367	288	314	264
Newark	302	291	206	165
Total of 11 other cities	5,422	4,575	4,452	3,943
GRAND TOTAL	42,966	38,332	43,994	45,682

Source: Department of Taxation, Research Division

the foundation program which has been discussed.

PROPERTY TAX LEVIES

Table IV gives the tax levies on all tangible property, which includes real, public utility, and tangible personalty, for school and municipal purposes for 1933 and 1938. The levy for schools was lower in 1938 than in 1933 both for the eight large cities and for all the cities given in total. On the other hand the levy for municipal purposes for the eight large cities increased from $39,500,000 to $41,750,000 in 1938 and the taxes for all the cities listed increased from $44,000,000 to over $45,500,000 in 1938.

Table V gives a more complete picture for the revenue of all munici-

TABLE V

TOTAL REVENUE OF MUNICIPALITIES, OHIO, BIENNIALLY, 1926-1936

(In thousands of dollars)

Year	Amount
1926	$138,665
1928	175,655
1930	176,380
1932	144,090
1934	131,718
1936	160,091

Source: Department of Taxation, Research Division

palities in Ohio biennially from 1926 to 1936. It is significant that while revenues dropped from the high of $176,000,000 in 1930 to $132,000,000 in 1934, they had increased to $160,000,000 in 1936 and were considerably higher than this in 1937 and 1938.

INDEBTEDNESS

Table VI gives the aggregate amount of funded and unfunded gross debt for the Ohio cities for 1930 and annually from 1934 to 1938. Table VII gives the same type of information for city school districts. It should be pointed out that these data represent gross debt although Ohio has had serial bonds since 1922 and sinking fund balances are not particularly large in Ohio. (For information on the gross and net bonded debt of these cities see the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for June 1939.) These data also include unfunded debt as represented by bills payable and deficits such as those for poor relief. The figures are comparable for the years given and present the significant picture that in the case of cities and city school districts the amount of debt has decreased during the

TABLE VI

CITY DEBT: AGGREGATE AMOUNT OF FUNDED AND UNFUNDED DEBT FOR SELECTED CITIES, OHIO, AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1930, AND ANNUALLY 1934-1938

(In thousands of dollars)

City	*1930*	*1934*	*1935*	*1936*	*1937*	*1938*
Cleveland	$127,360	$120,732	$116,940	$112,251	$110,810	$113,472
Cincinnati	105,580	94,630	90,752	89,742	81,076	79,863
Toledo	34,554	27,443	27,613	26,672	25,650	29,271
Columbus	42,076	33,902	34,764	32,981	31,172	30,221
Akron	45,314	39,918	39,874	37,949	36,404	36,283
Dayton	17,598	15,432	14,832	13,923	13,142	12,357
Youngstown	7,749	7,213	7,417	8,489	8,011	10,384
Canton	10,111	7,211	6,420	6,179	5,511	5,040
Total of 8 large cities	390,342	346,481	338,612	328,186	311,776	316,891
Springfield	5,073	5,485	5,008	4,568	4,274	4,096
Hamilton	3,386	2,925	2,859	2,696	2,572	2,409
Lorain	3,027	2,150	1,858	1,697	1,468	1,271
Portsmouth	5,329	4,632	4,589	4,638	4,615	4,359
Lima	5,247	4,421	4,299	3,968	3,663	3,354
Warren	3,298	2,632	2,355	2,091	1,894	1,756
Zanesville	1,222	893	722	619	536	791
Steubenville	750	642	619	637	533	634
Mansfield	1,457	813	972	831	1,155	682
Marion	1,544	1,166	1,038	1,010	918	782
Newark	1,348	1,207	1,047	906	773	708
Total of 11 other cities	31,681	26,966	25,366	23,661	22,401	20,842
GRAND TOTAL	422,023	373,447	363,978	351,847	334,177	337,733

Source: Debt statements filed with the Auditor of State

TABLE VII

CITY SCHOOL DEBT: AGGREGATE AMOUNT OF FUNDED AND UNFUNDED DEBT OF ALL CITY SCHOOL DISTRICTS, FOR SELECTED CITIES, OHIO, AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1930, AND ANNUALLY 1934-1938

	(In thousands of dollars)					
City	*1930*	*1934*	*1935*	*1936*	*1937*	*1938*
Cleveland	$27,194	$18,317	$15,759	$13,821	$11,232	$ 9,406
Cincinnati	17,670	15,944	14,712	13,693	12,986	12,323
Toledo	14,329	14,304	14,113	14,535	13,698	14,181
Columbus	10,365	8,913	8,472	8,593	7,752	7,235
Akron	10,376	8,693	8,602	7,239	6,435	5,901
Dayton	8,309	7,891	7,529	6,937	6,546	6,235
Youngstown	3,120	2,900	2,452	2,092	1,739	2,085
Canton	6,207	5,573	5,330	5,081	4,933	4,691
Total of 8 large cities	97,570	82,535	76,969	71,991	65,321	62,057
Springfield	1,577	1,605	1,537	1,420	1,302	1,235
Hamilton	1,408	1,521	1,410	1,311	1,194	1,077
Lorain	1,410	978	881	786	694	672
Portsmouth	2,315	2,111	2,005	1,856	1,746	1,630
Lima	827	677	629	593	528	584
Warren	2,241	1,741	1,578	1,413	1,247	1,073
Zanesville	863	646	596	551	503	490
Steubenville	903	630	562	504	446	893
Mansfield	1,196	848	769	688	609	1,088
Marion	1,344	1,120	1,031	1,001	860	778
Newark	996	789	734	679	625	828
Total of 11 other cities	15,080	12,666	11,732	10,802	9,754	10,348
GRAND TOTAL	112,650	95,201	88,701	82,793	75,075	72,405

Source: Debt statements filed with the Auditor of State

depression years and during the period of adjustment to the stringencies of tax limitation. This large decrease in the amount of local government debt in Ohio represents a healthy situation which is due in part, of course, to the way the ten-mill limitation has worked out.

The Griswold act, which provided for serial bonds, became effective in 1922. Most of the bonds that were issued just prior to this date were for periods of from ten to twenty years. Thus the depression and the peak load of maturities of local debt occurred at the same time in Ohio. There were many districts where all or practically all of the ten mills was taken for debt purposes and therefore no further levies for debt could be made within the limitation. Ohio also has statutory provisions requiring a 65 per cent majority for voted levies for all purposes except the current operating expenses of schools which require only a bare majority. It is true that this statute has been modified for short periods of time. However, this modification in the main has been for current expenses and thus there has been no way in which local governments could levy for debt purposes unless 65 per cent of the electors approved. It is true, too,

that there has been a considerable amount of refunding in Ohio which of course is bad governmental financing. Under the circumstances, however, it would have been impossible to prevent it because of the desire to level off the aforementioned peak of maturities during these times.

In conclusion it should be noted that the Ninety-third General Assembly performed an outstanding job in generally refusing to enact enabling legislation which would have permitted local governments to enact additional motor vehicle license or occupational taxes and in abandoning the earmarking of state levied taxes for specific purposes other than in the case of the gasoline tax and the motor vehicle license tax. Better business conditions in 1939 than in 1938 will bring about increased governmental revenues. This is particularly true of the state government since the yield from the retail sales tax in the first five months of 1939 exceeded the first five months of 1938 by over two million dollars. Present indications are that the revenue from this source will be at least $45,000,000, or more than $5,000,000 above 1938. Cities in Ohio will also benefit from the policy of the present state administration of appropriating definite amounts of $12,000,000 for the general functions of local government and $10,000,000 for poor relief in each year of this biennium. The financial situation of Ohio municipalities has been greatly improved in recent years and further improvements can be expected if we take an intelligent and realistic approach to their still existing problems.

Tax-Exempt Property Poses Problem for Texas Cities[1]

By STUART A. MacCORKLE, *The University of Texas*

Study of one hundred cities reveals great variation in interpretation and application of laws bearing on tax exemption; upwards of 50 per cent of property not on tax rolls.

UNTIL the current controversy over reciprocal taxation of state and national agencies and instrumentalities of government, the general impetus on the whole has been consistently toward the extension of legally exemptible property. For the legislator it is good politics to vote for exemptions in favor of influential constituents. Every special interest group is able to present good evidence for relieving its particular property of the tax burden, and while the single items on the exemption lists may in themselves amount to little, the sum total of the accruals over the past decades constitutes an appreciable portion of what was once a potential tax base. The courts, through their rigid interpretations of the law, and the finance officers, in order that a maximum tax base be retained, have alone resisted this development.

A solution to the problem has not yet been reached. On the one hand there is a decided impetus toward expanding the tax base by eliminating a portion of the new exemptibles; on the other there is the persistent demand from those now burdened for further exemptions. These exactions are so wrapped up in the nature of the present economic and social system that it is difficult to differentiate between their justification when considered from the viewpoint of governmental fiscal policy or the general welfare of the whole. We have been told that the power to tax is the power to destroy; likewise, then, the ability to withhold a tax carries with it the power to sustain. The agriculturalist, the manufacturer, and the small home owner each frequently assumes that he should be given preferential treatment because of the social implications involved. We are therefore brought face to face with the fact that, unless the preferential treatment accorded to those who are exempt from tax levies results in the amelioration of conditions which make it necessary for government to extend itself into new fields, it would seem advisable to refrain from additional exemptions.

Unfortunately Texas has practically no statistics dealing with the valuating of tax-exempt property.[2] In the light of the consistent demands for homestead exemption and for preferential treatment with regard to various industries, it is an absurdity that so little detailed information as to the extent of exemptions exists. In only one of more than one hun-

[1]This article is based upon material collected from more than one hundred Texas cities representing every population group.

[2]No doubt the best statistics as to the extent of exemption provisions are available in New York State, where the law requires the evaluation of exempt property in the same manner as taxable property.

dred of the major cities of this state recently surveyed was there any consideration given to the value of exemptibles. In this community, with a population of about 6,500, it is estimated that approximately $1,057,400 worth of property was exempt from the application of the ad valorem tax. This was distributed among the classes of property as follows: county $131,000, city $500,300, schools $250,000, cemetery $16,200, churches $160,200. Although somewhat incomplete, this summary of the exempt property constitutes 18 per cent of the existing tax base and 15 per cent of the true value of all exempt and assessed property within the city.

There is little doubt that, were the legally and the illegally exempt properties added, in most Texas cities the resulting total would indicate an absence of 50 per cent or more of property from the tax rolls. In spite of this condition, nothing is done to obtain the necessary data to indicate the true situation, no steps are taken to improve the tax laws so as to prevent these exemptions, nor are attempts made to provide a reasonably large substitute source of revenue for financially hard-pressed municipalities.

LIST OF EXEMPTIONS

The list of municipal legally exempt property is not excessive. It includes property outside the jurisdiction of the state, public property of the federal, state, county, and city jurisdictions as well as that of other subdivisions, property owned and used for religious and educational purposes, growing crops and nursery goods, cemeteries not used for profit, property of art galleries and societies of fine arts, demonstration farms, the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. property, possessions of the Boy Scouts, fraternal benefits society property used for lodge purposes, $250 worth of household furniture, rolling stock of railroads, buffalo and catalo, and property of local housing authorities.

The crux of the exemption problem lies in the fact that the law is one thing while practice is another. Either advertently or inadvertently the provisions of present statutes are perverted until there is slight agreement about any but the most obvious forms of exemptions. The size of the actual tax base is smaller and the extent of the true exemptions is much greater than that intended by law. The administration of legal exemptions varies greatly from city to city.

For the existence of these present variations three basic reasons may be assigned. These are: (1) The lack of knowledge or understanding of the legal provisions by officials. (2) The existence of conditions which make it expedient not to conform to the law. (This is obviously coupled with the lack of an agency to enforce conformity and the absence of an articulate public opinion to demand legal equality.) (3) The existence of pressure groups which bring about deviations from the intent of the law. Only by having intelligent, well trained, fearless tax officials with strong convictions re-

garding the omnipotence of the law can these factors be eliminated.

Now let us turn to a consideration of the three basic causes in the order mentioned above.

LACK OF KNOWLEDGE

Being removed from the centers where tax problems are studied, and confronted with more work than they are able properly to complete, the municipal assessors can hardly be expected to keep in touch with the many ramifications now to be found in our tax exemption laws. No comprehensive summary of the law as it is interpreted exists, and no agency of official status confined to tax matters is available to the local assessor. Such information as can be obtained must be sought by hard labor, trial and error, and by search through such antiquated sources as may be available.

Frequently has it been held that lodges *per se* are taxable; yet repeatedly have assessors assumed them to be exempt as charitable institutions. Apparently there is little that is charitable about the average local lodge unless it is a fraternal benefit organization, and even then the law provides for the taxation of property not used precisely for lodge purposes. Not only are they commonly exempt on the assumption that they are charitable, but when it is evident that part of a given unit of property is used for profitable purposes, they are still only partially taxed. The Texas law does not in any instance imply the partial taxation of property. It is either taxable or exempt; yet time after time municipalities permit partial exemptions. As an evasion of the legal process of full taxation it is interesting to note that in some instances the ownership of the property has been divided and the portion of the building used for profit placed under the ownership of another. Even under such circumstances it is doubtful if most lodges can be exempt because of their failure to comply with legal exemption requirements.

One of the most complex problems for the local assessor today is the assessment of federal property because of the growing participation of the federal government in matters of ordinary existence and the prevalence of its properties in many municipalities. The varied nature of these institutions, and the havoc which has thus been raised with the fine legal distinctions which had previously been laid down, result in a condition which may be described as chaotic. Bank stock held by the RFC is an illustration of just such a condition. The courts in 1936 held that such stock is taxable,[3] with the result that assessors went under the assumption that they could levy on it; but subsequently Congress specifically exempted bank stocks held by the RFC and provided for their retroactive exemption.[4] Multiply the resulting effect by the number of such agencies which may acquire property, and add a small additional group of similar effects for the various conditions under which property may be acquired, and the complexity of

[3] *Baltimore National Bank* v. *State Tax Commission of Maryland*, 56 S. Ct. 417 (1936).

[4] *Public Laws, Seventy-Fourth Congress, Second Session*, c. 160, p. 1185.

the problem of federal exemptions becomes evident.

A ramification of the problem occurs in regard to the repossessed property held by the HOLC. Not only are local officials confused by it if they attempt to analyze its implications, but from all accounts those in control are not entirely sure of their ground. The federal statutes permit the taxation of this property, but these statutes are not mandatory on the states. The Texas constitution permits the state legislature to exempt public property used for public purpose,[5] and under this authority the state legislature exempted all federal property.[6] Even though the statutes may be unconstitutional as far as they exempt public property not used for public purposes, there has never been a decision to contradict the assumption that such property is actually public in nature. The best reason to be given for the payment of the tax by the HOLC is that it has been decided that it was the proper policy to follow. The law is ignored in favor of what is judged to be expedient. Such intricate problems will not be solved by the individual efforts of the average overworked assessor-collector, secretary, treasurer, and general handyman for the city.

The same problem arises in the taxation of property of other governmental units. If it is true that only public property used for public purposes is untaxable, then it must follow that property taken for taxes and rented out to private individuals, for example, is taxable. Most Texas cities have never assessed this type of property, laboring under the assumption that all property of another governmental jurisdiction is immune. Carrying this consideration a step further, it is conceivable that property purchased in excess of public need and held for private use by a governmental unit likewise may be taxable. For instance, portions of land outside actual needs for use as airports, cemeteries, and golf courses may be taxable.

Another fine legal problem which causes confusion and one which often results in thoughtless exemption is that created by consigned goods. In such cases where does the legal title lie? Where is the taxable ownership? Time after time this problem creates such difficulties that the assessor abandons it and permits the property to go untaxed.

PETITIONS NECESSARY

Deeply immersed in the verbiage of Title 128 of the Texas civil statutes, which deals with taxation, there is a requirement that an institution of educational or religious nature must petition for an exemption before it will be granted, and that until such petition is made the property shall be taxed. There seems to be no reason for assuming that this provision does not apply to cities as well as to the counties against which it is directed according to the interpretation of the state officials. Even though it could not apply to all cities, certainly it would be applicable to that relatively larger group of

[5] *Texas Constitution*, art. VIII, sec. 3.
[6] *Vernon's Annotated Revised Civil Statutes of Texas* (1935), art. 7150.

charter cities which include the provisions of Title 128 in their charters. Yet nowhere is such a petition required, nor is a penalty assessed for failure to comply with the law.

Illustrative of the divergent interpretations which may arise is the relatively common idea that the law provides for the exemption of mechanics' tools from taxation. A careful investigation reveals that the most probable source of this idea was the provision exempting such property from foreclosure proceedings. This exemption does not apply to taxation and the property is definitely taxable. Perhaps administrative expediency would intervene to prevent taxation were it contemplated under any circumstances, but contrary to the assumption held in cities of the state, the property is legally assessable.

It frequently happens that a church, hospital, school, or other private institution with an exempt purpose will acquire property in excess of its needs for exempt use. There is sufficient case law to substantiate the assessment of such property, and relatively definite rules have been laid down to differentiate that which is legally exempt from that which is not. All too often, however, it occurs that the exemption is extended beyond the limits of the property used for the exempt purpose. For example, here is a church which uses one lot of the block for its building, yet claims and receives an exemption on the whole block.

Again, there are instances where property is held by an organization for ultimate use for an exemptible purpose but is not being so used. In the meantime it may lie dormant or be used for private purposes, but because of its ultimate use it is exempt. While the court has restrained the taxation of property of such a nature to some degree by indicating that substantial intent is sufficient grounds for exemption,[7] nevertheless there may be room for believing that much such property is legally assessable where the actual intent to use for exempt purposes is so nebulous and distant as to raise doubt as to its ultimate fulfillment.

DIFFICULTIES OF ADMINISTRATION

No doubt the overwhelming proportion of exemptions is due not to failure to interpret the law but to inability or unwillingness to enforce it on the part of the proper authorities.

While the law provides for exemption of the first $250 worth of household goods,[8] all household furniture is generally tax-free. Were the assessor to depend on renditions for the enumeration of such property, gross inequalities would no doubt result. On the other hand, were he to go out after it administrative costs would mount, as was evidenced recently in Chicago, where the expense of assessing such property was found to exceed the benefits received.[9] Even if the property is located there always remains the moot question of its

[7] *City of Abilene* v. *State of Texas* (Tex. Civ. App., December 17, 1937), cited in *Texas Municipalities*, XXV (1938), 23.

[8] *Vernon's Annotated Revised Civil Statutes of Texas* (1935), art. 7150.

[9] National Association of Assessing Officers, *News Letter*, March 1937.

evaluation. In only a few places and for a small number of articles has it been found that the problems of administration do not make it unwise to attempt to assess household goods.

Now, looking at the problem from another angle, it is not unheard-of for a widow to be left with realty as her only source of income. To tax this property on the same comparative basis as like property in the community might prove too great a burden, resulting in either liquidation of the holding or the problem of relief. For these reasons many cities assess such property at a relatively nominal sum.

INTANGIBLES CREATE PROBLEM

But by far the most important exemption by reason of administrative difficulties is that of intangibles. By and large these are exempt because of the inability of the assessor to discover or the general reluctance of the owners to make proper renditions. On the whole there is no city in Texas which even suggests that all such property is discovered or even sought. In fact, there is much evidence to show that such tacit exemption results in the depletion of the tax base by about 50 per cent.

Mention should be made also of the fact that property of absentee owners in the hands of local people is frequently exempt. Outstanding among such properties are vending machines, electric phonographs, and certain rented devices such as clocks, display racks, and business machinery. In part the exemption is caused by the difficulty of locating the owner and of placing the property on the legal assessment day. Again, the difficulty is partially due to the fact that the physical value of the property may not be very great, and the concept of evaluation on such a basis as income has not yet secured a substantial hold in Texas municipalities.

Finally, despite the fact that a private hospital operated for profit is known to be taxable,[10] it frequently occurs that arrangements are made for reduced assessment in order that aid may be administered to an unprofitable but very essential venture. There is a distinct line of demarcation between hospitals which are tax-exempt and those which are not. In a few instances these organizations were found to have secured charters from the state defining them as belonging to the exempt classification. In these cases it appears that their property becomes exempt even though there is reason to believe that a profit motive prevails. In one instance, thwarted in its attempt to be declared charitable, a hospital sought and succeeded in obtaining classification as an educational institution because it trained nurses. The acquiescence of the city in this assumption indicates either a clear-cut desire to aid the hospital by the use of subterfuge or poor interpretation of the law.

PRESSURE GROUPS

Particularly in the area close to the Louisiana state line were industries found to be exempt from taxation. The same situation exists in other

[10] *Santa Rosa Infirmary et al* v. *City of San Antonio*, 259 S. W. 926 (1924).

sections of the state where there are thriving industries which are virtually tax-free because the city in which they are located is forced to make a decision between obtaining some immediate revenue on the one hand or losing the industry on the other and being thereby deprived of one of the chief reasons for its existence. Obviously, under such circumstances these industries are absolutely or virtually tax-exempt. In other instances the assertion is made that certain commodity handlers shop around for cities which will permit the storage of their commodity without taxation and that these are found.

Not always is the pressure group seeking tax evasion a minority one. A major portion of the populace may constitute such a group, as is illustrated in one city where the state homestead exemption is applied as a municipal exemption. This is definitely contrary to the court interpretations of the law;[11] yet it takes place. The fact that it does occur is evidence of the real existence of popular sanction.

The many quasi-public organizations with inclinations toward social improvement of the community furnish further examples of pressure groups seeking exemptions. Perhaps a classic example is the State Federation of Women's Clubs. It is not uncommon for women's clubs, garden clubs, American Legion groups, and similar organizations to seek exemptions by administrative decree. The administrative dilemma in which the city may find itself is illustrated in a recent situation involving two quasi-public institutions. Neither was found to pay any taxes, and the city administration tacitly evaded the issue because to have brought pressure on one would have necessitated bringing pressure on the other, and it was considered inexpedient at the time to exert such pressure. The tacit exemption of both resulted.

[11] *Graham* v. *City of Fort Worth*, 75 S. W. (2d) 930 (1935, writ of error refused).

CONCLUSION

An investigation reveals that at the present time scores of deviations from the law exist in the municipal administration of the exemption provisions of the ad valorem tax laws in Texas. A person entering a city for the first time cannot be guided by the standards laid down in the statutes, but must be informed regarding the practices applied in that particular community. In a large measure blame for present conditions cannot justly be placed upon the shoulders of tax officials. The defects are far more fundamental and deep-rooted. It is evident, in the first place, that the laws as they now stand will never be enforced. The obvious solution is to revise the law, making it adaptable to enforcement. New and competent means for the securing of revenue must be developed in lieu of the devices which have so completely broken down.

Even though the present laws were strengthened in the light of modern tendencies, that alone would not solve the problem. It is imperative that administrative reforms be inaugurated, aimed at the mandatory application of the laws. A single

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Southern Counties: Diagnosis and Prognosis

By NICHOLAS P. MITCHELL, *Furman University*

Ineptitude of county officials and indifference of citizens to much needed reforms speeding counties toward oblivion; revitalization through campaigns of enlightenment an immediate necessity.

ALMOST everywhere below the Mason and Dixon line little has been done with county government, and it remains about as it was, structurally, many, many years ago. Too many counties, too long ballots, oversized county boards and commissioners' courts, routine functions perfunctorily performed according to established custom, financial difficulties, haphazard accounting and budgeting, lack of planning—all these are typical in the southland.

Failure of efforts at reform is also general over the area, which seems to have a deep-rooted aversion to major changes of any kind, and is especially hostile to any alterations in its political machinery. In many instances the maintenance of old and unsatisfactory forms of government has been due to the fact that changes have been proposed by outsiders; such sources of suggestion the South as a whole does not tolerate. Since the days of the first carpetbaggers, the people of this area have viewed all newcomers, whatever their purposes, with the cold eye of suspicion. Failure to understand this widespread southern attitude, and the reasons which lie behind it, has prevented the success of more than one crusader, well-meaning or no, who desired to reform the South's political, social, or economic organization.

This region surely demonstrates the truth of Professor Lancaster's remark that "no reform of local government is likely to be permanent unless it is accepted and defended by local interests." A county can be little changed by transient leaders, such as pastors and teachers who will move on when a better opportunity offers, who are not putting down community roots, but are "merely stopping off between two adventures."[1]

Yet there are those in the South, including a number of native-born southerners, who in the past few years have become acutely conscious of the ailments of local government and have set out on campaigns for improvement. But no common plan of salvation has attracted general agreement. Some believe that because of the decided trend everywhere toward the assumption of one-time county functions by the state, the problem is not so much a matter of county reform as it is one of preventing complete county disappearance. Others feel that it is possible to revitalize the existing unit, although most of these usually favor county consolidation or at least the establishment of functional unions. Unfortunately, however, large numbers of southern citizens do not yet see fit

[1]Lancaster, Lane W., *Government in Rural America* (New York, 1937), pp. 406-407.

to concern themselves with the subject in any way.

As is well known, North Carolina took the lead in state centralization of county functions in the South, to be followed to a considerable extent in practice, if not always in law, by other states, notably Virginia, West Virginia, Florida, and Georgia. Still others have turned over at least some county work to the state governments. This state absorption has been due in large measure to the failure of local government to keep pace with the changes in social and economic life.

IS THE COUNTY DISAPPEARING?

This development has gone so far that some students are seriously questioning the future existence of the traditional local unit, and regard the issue as one of saving the county or letting it go. It has been said by Dr. Paul W. Wager, of the University of North Carolina, that: "County government in my state has become little more than a matter of sweeping out the courtroom two or three times a year in preparation for the holding of court, the recording of deeds, and the performance of the purely administrative task of assessing property, levying and collecting taxes, and keeping an account of disbursements, the major part of which is for debt service."[2] Six months ago Dean Raymond B. Pinchbeck, of the University of Richmond, well known in local government circles for his work as chairman of the Virginia Commission on County Government, said in an address: "It is my earnest conviction that unless vigorous and far reaching efforts are immediately made to bring about larger efficiency, economy, and democratic responsiveness to the will of its citizens, Virginia county government as we have known it in the state will disappear in this generation, perhaps in this decade."[3]

Certainly, if the county is to survive and properly to perform its share of work, drastic measures of resuscitation must be undertaken soon. But what and how? It appears that these measures must take the form either of territorial or functional consolidation of local units, or transference of the administration of roads, the custody of prisoners, the conduct of schools, and the relief of the poor to state agencies. Increasing demands upon already strained state governments will naturally add to the likelihood that they may be unable to carry on their normal functions in adequate fashion. For aid in certain areas of work, such as flood control or power and housing projects, counties in some states have recently been authorized to turn to the federal government.

While a reduction in the number of units of local government could effect a material economy, local pride, officeholder opposition, and other considerations seem to make territorial consolidation of counties impractical, if not impossible, as an immediate solution. At the same time decreasing property valuations and falling tax collections are making more and more counties financially unable to

[2] *Proceedings of the Institute of Public Affairs,* Eighth Annual Session (University of Georgia, 1934), Part II, p. 5.

[3] *A Coöperative Program for Improved County Government in Virginia* (December 1938), p. 5.

bear their burdens, and thus emphasizing the necessity for some change in the present system.

COUNTY AND FUNCTIONAL CONSOLIDATION

The idea of territorial consolidation, however, is not wholly dead. The 1939 legislature in Tennessee passed enabling acts setting up machinery for future consolidations.[4] A bill has been introduced in the 1939 legislature of South Carolina to provide a fund for the study of the possibility of consolidation in the state as a means of effecting a saving in the cost of government. The state is now becoming conscious of the value of the report made by the Committee on Government of the South Carolina Council several years ago. This report said in part:

> It is believed that a consolidation of several of the smaller counties could be effected with a reduction of overhead expense. When it is realized that 30 per cent of the expenditures of the average county goes to the payment of salaries, the merits of any plan looking toward elimination of salaries through consolidation of units will be immediately appreciated.
>
> Authorities agree that the overhead expense in any county having an assessed valuation of less than $10,000,000 constitutes an excessive burden. Thirty-six South Carolina counties are in that classification and, of that number, nineteen have assessed valuations of less than $5,000,000.
>
> The situation is such in South Carolina as to justify the appointment of an official nonpartisan board to examine in detail the question of consolidation and to make recommendations to the General Assembly based on its findings.[5]

There are numerous examples of functional coöperation among counties in the South. Intercounty libraries and health services are not uncommon. As a further example, "In Virginia there are, at present, combinations of counties into ten joint health districts, fourteen school districts, thirty-four judicial circuits, and four district almshouses which have replaced twenty county homes. This movement has little opposition from county officers, because it is least disturbing to the status quo."[6]

The desirability of structural reforms and the establishment of a county executive is recognized everywhere. Progress of the manager idea has been slow, however, largely because of the resistance of those holding office under the present system. In South Carolina there is especial need for a change in organization. There the county legislative delegation takes the place of a county board, and no action of any importance may be taken regarding county affairs without the consent of the state legislature. This has produced at times an almost intolerable situation. The county commissioners found in some South Carolina counties deal only with financial matters, and are generally under the control of the legislative delegation. It is to be hoped that the suggestion made some time ago by Columbus Andrews in his study of county government in the state may eventually be realized. This would divide county administration into the five general departments

[4] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1939, pp. 312-314.

[5] *Report of the Committee on Government of the South Carolina Council* (1931), p. 17.

[6] Pate, James E., "Trends in County Government," *Social Forces*, March 1938, p. 425.

of finance, health, education, public works, and public welfare; and would authorize counties, where it seems economical and wise to do so, to establish joint departments of health and public welfare, jails, and county-group hospitals and homes for aged and infirm citizens.[7]

FISCAL IMPROVEMENTS NEEDED

The need for centralized purchasing, uniform accounting, budgeting, and other financial safeguards continues acute, although a beginning has been made in some states. Alabama has passed a uniform county accounting act, authorizing the requirement of prescribed forms for county records. The state has also extended the provisions of its budget law to counties. This is following the lead of North Carolina and Virginia. Almost everywhere there has been, and is, some central administrative control of local finance through state-administered locally-shared taxes, grants-in-aid, and state auditing of local accounts. But much remains to be done. Some counties have no record of outstanding indebtedness, while others have failed to make adequate provision for retiring their debts. And even in those sections in which periodic auditing of county records is mandatory, the examining forces are often so small that it is impossible to make more than a perfunctory study in many of the offices.

In this matter of state control, the Alabama Department of Finance act of 1939 has a number of important provisions:

(1) It requires all county boards to submit certified copies of their annual budgets within thirty days of adoption to the Division of Local Finance in the State Department of Finance. But the Division of Local Finance has no power of approval or revision.

(2) It requires each county board to submit to the Division of Local Finance an annual statement of its financial condition.

(3) It empowers the Division of Local Finance to require periodic reporting of all county purchases of one hundred dollars or more, and authorizes the purchasing agent of the State Department of Finance to make purchases for the counties upon request.

(4) It transfers from the state comptroller to the Division of Local Finance the power to prescribe uniform county systems of accounting and to make a post audit of county finances.

(5) It empowers the Division of Local Finance to investigate all new proposed obligations of the counties and to advise whether such obligations will in its opinion have an injurious effect on the credit or general financial condition of the county. In the event of county default on principal or interest for ninety days or more, and when requested in writing by the holder of any bond in default, the Division of Local Finance is authorized to take charge of county revenues to the extent that such revenues are exclusively applicable to payment of principal and interest.

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[7] *Administrative County Government in South Carolina,* Chapel Hill, 1933, p. 197.

State control is to continue until the default is remedied or a plan is accepted by the bondholders and the governing agency of the county.[8]

The finding of adequate revenues to meet county needs is another problem, accentuated by decreasing returns under, or the complete disappearance of, the general property tax. It has become necessary in a number of states to divert state funds for county purposes. In Florida the situation has a rather unusual quirk. The state is so apportioned that the small county representatives in the legislature are able virtually to control it. The result is that their ordinary expenditures are practically subsidized by the state. Such earmarking of funds naturally adds to the financial difficulties of the state organizations. At least a partial remedy for this situation lies in a stricter enforcement of the laws governing tax delinquency.

PLANNING MAY HELP

County planning is being heard of to some extent. Every Florida county has a planning council, set up by the State Planning Board. In some Georgia counties planning has been sketchily tried. In Greenville County, South Carolina, the Greenville County Council for Community Development is carrying out a five-year planning program, with the coöperation of the county government, Furman University, and other agencies. Tennessee, Georgia, and Virginia have passed acts permitting county zoning, and the Tennessee law is being applied in Hamilton County. The combination of city and county governments has also been suggested, being discussed at various times recently in Atlanta, Georgia; Durham County, North Carolina; and Greenville County, South Carolina. There are a few, however, who support the opposite position, urging the spread of the Virginia system of separation of cities and counties.

All over the South there is need for further stimulation of public interest in problems of local government. Various programs of adult education emphasizing local topics have sprung up in many sections; institutes of public affairs have been held for years at several of the leading southern universities. In some places these adult programs have resulted in definite action. In Greenville County, South Carolina, for instance, a Good Government Association was formed, following an educational campaign of some weeks, which did much to clean up the county in recent elections and which may take the lead in urging the adoption of the manager system. There must be many more forums and other discussion groups, however, followed by concrete proposals for change, before reform moves much faster in southern local government.

The trend at present seems almost universally to favor following the line of least resistance, which means further transfer of historic county functions to state, and perhaps even federal, organizations. As is easily understood, this may bring about the disappearance of many county powers, if not of counties themselves,

[8]Information regarding this act was supplied by Professor Wilson K. Doyle of the University of Alabama.

and will therefore continue to be viewed with alarm by many. But it must be noted that there are many others who are ready to accept further centralization, regardless of its threat to local independence, as normal and desirable in this streamlined age, and who will agree with Professor J. E. Pate that:

> If efficiency and economy are our aim in the reform of county government, we should stop fooling ourselves; we should end our propaganda for radical changes in the form of county government; we should use our talent to get the older functions of local government transferred to the state, and bring the remainder under close state administrative supervision. In this direction lies greater economy and efficiency in performance of those governmental functions that have ceased to be local, or those that lie on the border line between the county and the state.[9]

Finally, in the South local government is the stronghold of professional politicians and incompetent administrators, and they are firmly entrenched. The storming of their fortresses must be the South's major political drive for the next decade, and this can be successfully done only in connection with campaigns designed to give the public further enlightenment regarding fundamental principles of administration. Otherwise no revitalization of southern county government is possible and the county as a living unit is doomed. The average local officeholders in the region today are interested only in the maintenance or expansion of their own positions, and insist on viewing proposals for even minor alterations as implied accusations of their personal unfitness for office. The persistence of that attitude can only result in southern county government's becoming so hopelessly deficient that there will be no course to follow save that of surrendering automatically all local functions to a higher power.

[9]Pate, *op. cit.*, pp. 425-426.

TAX-EXEMPT PROPERTY

(Continued from Page 533)

good assessment should be substituted for the present two, three, four, five, and six varyingly competent applications of identical procedure. Some central agency, studded with experts, might be devised with power to advise, supervise, and exert some pressure upon local tax officials who failed in their duties. Under the present system time and the multiplicity of units can result only in increased divergencies between theory and practice.

The Researcher's Digest: July

California self-help cooperatives may be partial solution to relief problems; Population problems explored by New Orleans and Rochester Bureaus of Research; Dayton bureau finds six ways to raise revenue; St. Louis survey.

THERE were in the United States 168 self-help organizations for 5,858 persons who would otherwise have been unemployed, as of June 1938. Seventy-five of these were in California. What was their value as "a working illustration of one alternative to dole relief"? To answer this question the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** has contributed a concise study on *Self-Help Coöperatives in California,* based on the voluminous doctoral thesis of one of the authors.

Skipping to the "back of the book" for the answers, the bureau reveals that: (1) although savings varied, in general the total cost of self-help benefits to the state was less than the cost of the equivalent amount of direct relief, thus indicating the possibility of savings through such programs; (2) production coöperatives have not been as efficient as private enterprise, but since they are in no way comparable with private enterprise as to age and ability of workers, type of capitalization, and other factors, the criterion is not particularly valid; (3) the effect of participation in self-help production on the social attitudes of the members was to concentrate their interest on productive activity rather than in protest for higher relief payments; (4) a survey of citizens in selected communities found 80 to 85 per cent of citizen approval of self-help production groups.

The authors describe the arrangements, financial and otherwise, whereby both state and federal governments join to help along the coöperatives and they thoroughly discuss the statistics of an experiment which perhaps deserves more attention than it has gotten, as a partial solution to the great American relief problem.

There is an echo, on every page of this scholarly research publication, of *The Grapes of Wrath,* John Steinbeck's great new novel on the dust-bowl homeless who trekked hopefully to California. A reader longs to ask the Bureau of Public Administration what kind of people work in the coöperatives. Are they natives? Are they "Okies"? How do they like the arrangement? Almost, one is tempted to inquire of the Bureau of Public Administration the welfare of Ma Joad.

A Diminishing People

New Orleans' slow growing population is called an asset by the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research,** which began, with its bulletin of May 25th, a series of thoughtful, thorough, and easy-to-understand discussions of population problems. Five advantages of the unspectacularly steady rate of population increase are set forth:

(1) Gradual demand for expansion of city governmental services such as water supply, sewers, fire and police protection; (2) minimizing of those community health problems which are usually accentuated during rapid migrations; (3) absence to a large degree of land booms with consequent overextension of public facilities, and subsequent deflation of values, waste of water, sewer and drainage extensions, and high special assessment debt; (4) comparative ease in assimilating newcomers, socially and economically, and in making adjustments during depression periods; and (5) a far greater opportunity to plan the future, relatively unhampered

by overexpanded business, industrial, and residential facilities.

The bureau has been having the same difficulty in judging population growth, since the last federal census, that beset Detroit groups and that prompted the restudy by the Detroit bureau discussed in these columns last month. Lamenting the dearth of reliable data, the New Orleans bureau discarded school census figures for 1935 as scarcely indicative, and relied chiefly on past trends and figures for sewerage and water customers and persons served. These indicate, says the bureau, continuous growth since 1930 but at a slower rate than in the preceding decade, bringing New Orleans "around the half-million mark" now.

For the future, the bulletin predicts continued increases but at a slower rate, increase of the colored proportion in the population, minimizing of the importance of natural increase, and greater importance of increases through migration. All of these, the bureau significantly remarks, are of course dependent on economic developments.

Bulletins 2 and 3 in the series explore the character and movement of the population within the city. The former might be expected to be an especially romantic question in New Orleans, with its colorful French-Spanish origins, its sizable colored population, its location on America's most thoroughly serenaded river. But the bureau's discoveries are real and earnest, for New Orleans' population is aging, with serious implications for social services, schools, and hospitals.

A spectacular map of migrations within the city provides the high point of the third bulletin, which might also be an eye-opener for (to coin a phrase) urbanophile serenaders of "moving day in the city"!

Still on the subject of population, the **Rochester bureau** is sufficiently concerned with Rochester's population problem to headline it *A Real Crisis* in its May bulletin. Here are the graver implications of another familiar big city phenomenon: the trek to the suburbs. The bureau guesses that people are leaving to escape congestion and to escape high taxes, and warns that by constitutional fiat the day has passed when the city may recapture the strays by simply annexing another slice of border territory. Intelligent zoning and rethinking of the city's financial structure are suggested as two possible remedies to Rochester's "greatest crisis."

Dayton's Unused Revenue Sources

A virtual primer of municipal finance for the citizens of Dayton is comprised in the **Dayton Research Association's** *Twelve Years of Income for the City of Dayton Government (What Possible Unused Sources of Income Exist).*

Although public financing is divided into two parts, receipts and expenditures, the bureau contends, expenditures are the dependent partner. The discussion therefore devolves about four questions. From what sources and in what amounts does money come for the operation and maintenance of the city? How is city income distributed among its sources? Is it possible to increase city income derived from the various present sources? What possible unused sources of public revenue exist?

Distraught legislators in other jurisdictions may find it a matter of great interest that the Dayton Research Association discovered no less than six means of increasing the operating revenues of the city government. They include reduction of debt by a definite plan, a moratorium on certain bond issues, complete removal of the financing of relief from sources of city operating revenues, establishment of licenses and permits for activities which are now free but offer licensing possibilities, a contributory system for police and fire pensions, and restoration of the garbage reduction plant and establishment of revenues from sales of products.

Survey for St. Louis

Last year the mayor of St. Louis was authorized to appoint a citizen committee to advise him in the making of a city survey and audit. Concerned over mounting deficits in the municipal revenue fund, he appointed a committee composed of five leading St. Louis business men. They recommended that the city ask the **Governmental Research Institute** to undertake a survey, and necessary audit, of the city government. The size of this undertaking made it necessary for the institute to supplement its staff by employing Griffenhagen and Associates to provide the necessary personnel, working under the direction and supervision of the institute. The Board of Aldermen, in its appropriation ordinance for the fiscal year 1939-40, appropriated $40,000 to defray the expenses of such a survey. None of this money will be used to meet the institute's ordinary expenses. The institute has entered into a contract with the city and also with Griffenhagen and Associates providing for a comprehensive survey of the organization structure, the policies, the procedures, the operating practices, the value and cost of services rendered, and the expenditures involved for all city departments under the direct control of the Mayor and Board of Aldermen. Excepted from the scope of the survey are the city's school system, the police department, the library, art museum, zoo, municipal courts, and the state courts and court officers. The departments to be surveyed employ approximately nine thousand persons. The size of this undertaking will not permit a report of all findings and recommendations until the close of 1939.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Courts

Magistrates and Politics. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research. *Citizens' Business,* June 13, 1939. 3 pp.

Police

Police (Comparative Statistics). Atlantic City Survey Commission, Inc. June 6, 1939. 5 pp.

Population Trends

A real crisis. Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc. *Municipal Research,* May 1939. 1 p.

Population Problems, I. New Orleans and How It Grew. Bureau of Governmental Research. *City Problems,* May 25, 1939. 7 pp.

Population Problems, II. New Orleans—A Changing People. Bureau of Governmental Research. *City Problems,* June 6, 1939. 6 pp.

Population Problems, III. New Orleans—People on the Move. Bureau of Governmental Research. *City Problems,* June 13, 1939. 6 pp.

Public Welfare

Self-Help Coöperatives in California. By Clark Kerr and Arthur Harris. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California. 1939 Legislative Problems, May 8, 1939. 26 pp.

Salary Standardization

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State Distribution of Sales Tax. Dayton Research Association. *Facts,* June 5, 1939. 3 pp.

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Twelve Years of Income for the City of Dayton Government. (What possible unused sources of income exist.) Dayton Research Association. April 1939. 32 pp.

Contributors in Review

THE member representing business on the Ohio Tax and Revenue Commission in 1938 was **Carlton S. Dargusch,** lawyer, while the career of **John N. Hart** seems to identify him as a teacher and researcher. These diverse vocational streams fused in *Ohio Tends Her Tax-Limited Localities.* Mr. Dargusch was the author of *Estate and Inheritance Taxation (1930),* co-draftsman of the present Ohio liquor control law, classified personal property tax law, and sales tax law. Mr. Hart is now part-time teacher at the Department of Economics of Ohio State University and has also been statistician for the state Department of Taxation since 1933. Mr. Dargusch originated in western New York thirty-nine years ago; Mr. Hart hails from Ohio, as of November 30, 1909.

A STAR member of that elect and select tribe of government authorities which issues from the School of Public Affairs and Citizenship of Syracuse University, **Hubert R. Gallagher** (*Legislative Highlights of 1939*) has justified his training by his career. Stanford University, which gave him his bachelor's degree in 1929, took him back as acting assistant professor in 1932, following his three years of experience as fellow, research assistant and instructor at Syracuse. Of late Mr. Gallagher has been with the Council of State Governments, first as staff member, later in charge of the New York office, and now as assistant director.

FEW are better fitted to follow what might be called the "psychological approach" to the problems of county government in the south than **Nicholas P. Mitchell** (*Southern Counties: Diagnosis and Prognosis*), who has, so to speak, been a southerner all his life. Mr. Mitchell has sampled most of the good southern universities, including Texas, Duke, Louisiana State, and Richmond. For the last three years he has been professor of political science and chairman of the department at Furman University. One of his excursions into another southland comprised authorship of a book on *Land Problems and Policies in the African Mandates of the British Commonwealth* (1931). Mr. Mitchell is also author of *State Interests in American Treaties* (1936).

PROFESSOR and researcher, two titles not necessarily synonymous, have been well mated in the career of **Stuart A. MacCorkle** (*Tax-Exempt Property Poses Problem for Texas Cities*). Mr. MacCorkle is both assistant professor of government and director of the Bureau of Municipal Research at the University of Texas. He was author of *The American Recognition Policy Toward Mexico* (1933), *State Financial Control over Cities in Texas* (1937), *Police and Allied Powers of Municipalities in Texas* (1938), as well as numerous articles on governmental subjects in this and other publications. Johns Hopkins University launched his career in 1931 with the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

THAT rare and precious phenomenon, a good citizen who is also vocal, is **S. V. Norton** (*Citizenship Day in Manitowoc*) who spends his time in a neat balance between business and constructive civic leadership. Born in Chicago in 1882, Mr. Norton has been almost continuously associated with the automotive industry in the middle west, even including war-time when he was connected with the Motor Transport Division of the

Ohio State Council of National Defense. The Oakland Citizens League at Pontiac, Michigan, (which was instrumental in bringing Oakland County emphatically into the black within only a few years of virtual bankruptcy) claims Mr. Norton as a member of its board of directors. He is also a member of the advisory council of the Detroit Citizens League, and a former chairman of the Village Planning Commission of Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, where he resides. Final cachet on Mr. Norton's good citizenship is provided by his membership on the council of the National Municipal League.

A TALENT for making friends and a proclivity for offering coolly intelligent mediation in times of public crisis have made **Harold E. Stassen** (*Managing Minnesota*) governor of Minnesota at the age of thirty-two. A typical farm-boy-works-his-way-through-college young manhood preceded Mr. Stassen's first excursion into public life a year after he was graduated from law school. Twice elected attorney in Dakota County, he made such a striking record that by 1938 he was able to vanquish seasoned public figures in the contest for the highest office in the state.

Managing a Big City

THE city manager plan is now beyond the experimental stage. It has demonstrated its practicability over and over again. And it has proved beyond debate that wasteful extravagance, political graft and racketeering, collusion with crime, interference with justice, and all the other flagrant indictments of many municipal administrations can be eliminated.

A big city like any big business can be honestly, economically, and efficiently administered if the people will have it so.—Rt. Rev. George Craig Stewart, Bishop of Chicago.

Children's Government

A GATHERING of eager, intense, and alert young girls recently spent a week in Topeka as guests of the Kansas American Auxiliaries. The girls, representing cities, towns, and communities in every part of the state, were there to learn as much as possible in the event-packed week about the business of government.

The legion auxiliary was pleased with the success of the first effort of its kind in the nation, the organization of the Girls' State, modeled exactly on the lines of the Boys State which is annually sponsored by the Kansas legion.

Members of the Girls' State organized their own state, county, and city governments and took up for consideration and study the problems which beset such units of government.

Some of the things these girls attempted to work out were school consolidation, county manager form of government, state police, sales tax, civil service, free text books, and state social security.

Under the head of county government were bridge building, jury service, health, and public aid of the needy.

City problems included health, taxes, schools, parks, zoning, traffic laws.—*Editorial Research Reports—Local Affairs Service.*

Recent News Reviewed

City, County, State Progress in Brief

Use of Merit System Increases Rapidly

Elections on Manager Plan Scheduled; Traffic Safety in Cleveland; Citizen Organizations Active

By H. M. OLMSTED

Eighteen cities adopted or extended civil service provisions for their personnel between January 1st and June 1st of the current year, according to the Civil Service Assembly. With these additions more than seven hundred cities now operate under merit systems.

Atlanta, Georgia, with approval of the state legislature, is the largest city in the 1939 group. A majority of the city's workers will come under the plan, which is to be administered by a personnel board. Other cities adopting merit administration were: Greenville, South Carolina; Owensboro, Kentucky; Lincoln Park, Michigan; Chicago Heights, Monmouth, Mt. Vernon, and Sterling, Illinois. Fairfield, Homewood, and Tarrant, Alabama, were added to ten other municipalities served by the personnel board of Jefferson County, under permissive state law.

Cities broadening their civil service systems include Fort Smith, Arkansas; Norfolk, Virginia; and Newport, Kentucky, all of which extended coverage from police and firemen to all city employees. Elgin, Illinois, also brought additional employees under civil service already established. Fayetteville, North Carolina, and Gary, Indiana, by action of their respective legislatures, gained merit systems for police department employees.

In Detroit, Michigan, a police merit board was established recently when citizens approved a charter amendment providing for a merit system for officers and employees of the city's police department.

The 1939 additions to merit system cities have already passed the halfway mark of 1938 adoption, which totaled twenty-nine, according to the association.

Pennsylvania Looks to Merit System

The Pennsylvania legislature has passed a bill setting up a state civil service commission which, however, does not extend the merit system beyond the three groups already covered—other than the employees of the civil service commission itself. The three systems already in effect include the employees of the Liquor Control Board and of the unemployment compensation and public assistance organizations. The executive head or administrator of the commission is to be chosen by competitive examination.

The Philadelphia *Bulletin* of May 29th, in expressing the hope that the bill would receive the Governor's approval, stated its belief that with the new commission as a foundation the extension of civil service in the other state departments is likely to be much easier.

Massachusetts Reorganizes Civil Service Commission

A bill signed by Governor Saltonstall on May 24th replaced the three-member salaried civil service commission, whose chairman acted as full-time administrator, with a part-time commission of five members, and a director of personnel who is

to be appointed for a five-year term, either as a result of open competitive examination or by a four-fifths vote of the commission.

Merit System Suffers Reverse in Michigan

The recent Michigan legislature, now adjourned, passed two acts which, taken together, will have the effect of destroying perhaps half of the program which had been operating under our so-called model civil service system for eighteen months. Some six thousand additional positions were put in the unclassified service. The civil service commission was revamped on a political basis, $3,000 salaries were given to the commissioners, and the powers of the commission were greatly reduced with reference to carrying on the necessary personnel transactions. In other words, the Michigan civil service is left with a classified service of about ten thousand. The technical staff, now somewhat reduced in number, will, however, be retained and Kenneth Pennebaker, who was chief examiner, has recently been chosen state personnel director. If the new commission will permit the competent staff which still remains to perform the necessary personnel work, we can still have a good service for more than half of the employees; but this remains to be seen. In other words, Michigan has taken a step backward. A move is now being made to take the case to the people so that by means of a constitutional amendment and an initiated bill the people themselves in 1940 and 1941 will be able to set up a civil service system which cannot thereafter be assailed successfully.

James K. Pollock
University of Michigan

Maryland Governor Vetoes Change in Merit System Control

According to the *News Letter* of the Civil Service Assembly, a legislative effort in Maryland to substitute a three-member commission and a director of personnel for the present office of commissioner of employment and registration was defeated by Governor O'Conor's veto of the bill designed to make this change. The Maryland League of Women Voters, the National Civil Service Reform League, and the Junior Chamber of Commerce were among the groups which urged the Governor to veto the measure on the grounds that it was politically inspired and represented a retrogressive step in the administration of the state's merit system.

More Cities to Vote on Manager Plan

Harrisonburg, Virginia, has appointed a city agent or manager by ordinance of the city council.

In **Tippecanoe City, Ohio,** a committee has been formed with the objective of securing the manager plan for that municipality. The committee decided to circulate petitions asking that the council call a special election on the question of adopting commission-manager government. On May 27th the council, upon receiving the petitions, voted to call a special election on July 29th on the question of a change from the mayor-council to the manager form of government. Candidates for the charter commission will be voted on at the same time as the question of appointment of a commission is submitted.

The Governor signed the city manager-proportional representation charter for **Waterbury, Connecticut,** recently passed by the legislature, on June 20th. It now goes to a referendum of Waterbury voters on October 3rd.

The charter commission of **Jackson, Michigan,** will submit its proposed new charter, calling for the manager plan of government, to the voters of that city on November 7, 1939.

Circleville, Ohio, will vote in November on the question of the election of a charter commission to draft a new charter.

Traverse City, Michigan, on June 20th

defeated its proposed city manager charter by a vote of 769 to 627—an extremely light vote in a city which normally casts 3,500 ballots.

On the same day, **Clifton Forge, Virginia,** also voted against the manager plan, 815 to 672. This vote was an expression of opinion only.

A bill to provide the manager plan for **Frederick, Maryland,** passed the state legislature but was vetoed by the governor.

In **Portsmouth, Ohio,** an effort has been under way to abolish the present manager government and return to the mayor form. The charter recall committee conducted a three-months campaign with the objective of obtaining at least 8,000 signatures to the petition. As finally filed with the city council the petition contained 3,387 names.

In **Abingdon, Virginia,** petitions have been circulated asking for a referendum on the proposition of substituting the manager plan for the present councilmanic system, the petitions to be presented to the Washington County Circuit Court, which has the power to call a referendum election. They propose a council of five members as the only elective officers of the town, the council to elect one of its members as mayor and to choose a manager from outside its membership. At least three members of the present council are reported to have endorsed the manager plan.

As noted last month, the **Newark, New Jersey,** Citizens Union has been circulating petitions for a vote under the New Jersey optional city manager law. At the same time representatives of the Junior Chamber of Commerce and Essex County members of the state assembly have introduced in the legislature a bill calling for a new type of charter with a strong mayor who would appoint an administrator of the city's business affairs; the mayor would also name the heads, or directors, of the six major departments. There would be a legislative council of nine, three to be elected each year.

Manager government is to be considered by voters of **Bar Harbor, Maine,** at the next town meeting. City Manager Fred D. Farnsworth of Brewer recently delivered an address on that subject at an open meeting of the Bar Harbor Civic League.

The manager plan is under consideration in **Delta, Colorado,** which now has the commission form of government. A communication has been mailed to every property owner in the city, asking his reaction to the proposed change.

In **San Antonio, Texas,** Mayor-elect Maury Maverick (formerly United States Senator from Texas) has announced plans for a far flung reorganization of the city administration, involving changes in every department and placing all activities under the direct supervision of the mayor. In his announcement, Senator Maverick stated: "We are trying to combine the best features of business management. This new reorganization will allow an easy transition into the council-manager form of government."

Movements for the manager plan are under way in **Irvington, New Jersey,** and **Scottsbluff, Nebraska.**

Maine Legislature Authorizes Referenda

The 1939 session of the Maine legislature enacted manager charters, subject to local referendum for the cities of **Bath** and **Gardiner** and the towns of **Houlton, Lisbon, Norway, Caribou,** and **Lincoln;** and the town of **Presque Isle** was permitted to vote on a city charter of manager form.

Houlton at a special election March 2nd adopted its manager charter.

As noted in these pages in May (p. 387) a general enabling act was passed authorizing any town to employ a town manager or to form a union with one or more other towns in the employment of a town manager. The proportion of the manager's salary to be paid by each town is to be determined by agreement among the selectmen of the towns comprising the union.

The following provisions outline the

powers and duties of the town manager:

Sec. 3. Powers and duties of town manager. Town managers shall be chosen on the basis of their executive and administrative qualifications by the selectmen of a town voting to employ a town manager, or by a joint board composed of the selectmen of the several towns comprising a union for the purposes of this act in which joint board the selectmen of each town shall cast collectively a single vote. A town manager shall be the administrative head of the government of the town, or of each of the several towns comprising a town union, and shall be responsible to the selectmen of each town for the administration of all departments of each said town over which the selectmen of towns have control, and his powers and duties, where not otherwise provided, shall be generally as follows:

a. To see that the laws and ordinances are enforced.

b. To act as purchasing agent for all town departments except school departments, and to submit to bids any purchases involving more than $100 if the selectmen or the joint board shall so order.

c. To attend the meetings of the selectmen, except when his removal is being considered and recommend for adoption such measures as he may deem expedient.

d. To keep the selectmen and the citizens of said town or towns fully advised as to the financial conditions of said town or towns.

e. To perform in each town or towns such other duties as may be prescribed for him by the selectmen, including the duties or any part of the duties of the town treasurer, the road commissioner or commissioners, the tax collector, and the overseers of the poor, any other provisions of statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

Orren C. Hormell

Bowdoin College

Pendergast Conviction Spurs Civic Spirit in Kansas City

In Kansas City, Missouri, where the Forward Kansas City Committee was organized some time ago, increased enthusiasm for better city government was stimulated by the conviction and sentencing of T. J. Pendergast, political boss. At a large dinner meeting shortly after that event the committee announced plans for a permanent organization to stand guard over the administration of public affairs in Kansas City and Jackson County.

Educating the Public in Traffic Safety

Recently Cleveland was awarded, jointly with Milwaukee, first place in the 1938 national traffic safety competition among the major cities of the nation. This is particularly noteworthy in that the number of traffic deaths in Cleveland was reduced by more than 46 per cent for the year. Various factors contributed to this result, but of particular interest is the program of public education in traffic safety inaugurated when the police department was reorganized in 1938. A Bureau of Public Relations was established at the same time to educate the public in matters of traffic safety and to promote the good will of the people.

By way of developing the interest of the police department as a whole, as well as of the public, the police of the various sections of the city were invited to compete for trophy awards furnished by one of the local newspapers and the Cleveland Safety Council. Considerable publicity was given to the contest, and the traffic enforcement index immediately rose.

Public talks occupied an important place in the educational program; 9,097 talks on safety were given in 1938 before schools, churches, parent-teacher associations, social groups, and industrial organizations. About 50 per cent of them were given by members of the police department, and the others at the request of the department. At first speaking engagements were solicited but before the end of the year this became unnecessary.

Considerable use was made of the radio also; 626 short talks were delivered by members of the department and others, the time being donated by the local radio stations and local organizations employing radio time. The Bureau of Public Relations directed the programs. Safety

exhibits and billboards totaled 5,145 for the year, while 80,000 posters emphasizing safe practices were displayed on the backs of trucks and taxicabs and at prominent places throughout the city.

Articles numbering 1,449 were supplied in 1938 for publication in the foreign language newspapers and in the magazines and pamphlets issued by various industrial concerns of the city; 2,578 slides and films emphasizing the same theme were shown in theatres and at public gatherings; 1,179,000 pieces of literature on traffic safety were distributed to the public. A memorial service to Cleveland's traffic dead was held on the Public Square late in the year.

A system of courtesy and warning cards was inaugurated as an important part of the program of public education in traffic safety. Cards stating that a violation had been committed, and its nature, were handed to traffic violators by the police, in connection with the less serious and presumably unintentional offenses. In the case of children, personal warnings by the officers were used in place of printed cards.

Although the program of public education in traffic safety was not the sole factor in reducing the number of traffic deaths in Cleveland from 247 to 130 in one year, local officials are convinced that the work done in this connection was a major contribution in the campaign to save human lives.

Christian L. Larsen
Western Reserve University

New Housing Program for Memphis

Shelter for lower income groups than have been accommodated in previous housing projects is the objective of a new housing program in Memphis, Tennessee.

The Memphis Housing Authority has under construction two housing areas which will wipe out seventy acres of slums at a cost of $7,000,000. Lamar Terrace, covering 25.6 acres, replaces one of the city's worst blighted sections. Its buildings will serve 478 white families.

Vance Avenue project, occupying forty-five acres in a decayed residential neighborhood near the downtown district, will house nine hundred negro families. Its dwellings will be row houses set at varied angles in relation to the landscaping of the area.

Each project will have a combined administration building and community center. Grounds will be attractively planted, with provision for recreational activities.

Rentals on the projects will average $3.25 a room per month, with utilities costing less than $1.00 extra. In Lauderdale Courts and Dixie Homes, housing areas previously built in Memphis, rentals average $5.50 a room per month, including utilities.

WPA labor has been used in demolition on the site of Lamar Terrace and the city will utilize the salvaged building material on WPA projects.

Louise Gambill
Memphis Municipal Reference Library

Citizen Education and Activity in Various States

Adult political education is under way in Georgia through the agency of a "Citizen Fact-Finding Movement" which within the last two years has enlisted seventeen statewide organizations with 250,000 members on its coördinating committee, according to the Governmental Research Association. The seventeen groups include various parent-teacher, church, and library associations, as well as the United Georgia Farmers and the Georgia Press Association. Informational reports on state affairs are distributed to local member units and others with the purpose of awakening public opinion. Within the last year reports were issued on subjects including natural resources, agriculture, industry and commerce, education, public welfare, and the tax and political systems of the state.

Citizens of Cincinnati, Ohio, through a

privately supported organization known as the Traffic Safety Council of Metropolitan Cincinnati, are coöperating with the city's Department of Safety by furthering a campaign of education in traffic safety. The council has reached all parts of the city by causing the installation of traffic safety courses in the schools and securing the coöperation of sixty-four suburban moving picture theatres in the regular showing of safety films. Three radio programs have also been arranged in the current year's schedule. The organization has backed a compulsory inspection ordinance and the institution of a permanent motor vehicle inspection bureau. The city has given the Traffic Safety Council an office in the City Hall, has appropriated funds for educational campaigns, and invites the study of highway traffic problems.

In Pennsylvania the city of Pittsburgh has had a thousand Boy Scouts making a traffic survey of the city streets, as a service of value both to the boys and to the city. In the city of Allentown one hundred boys have worked an average of twenty days under the direction of the city health department in improving the appearance and sanitation of Jordan Creek, which runs through the city. It is felt that the boys will have a continued interest in seeing that the stream and its banks are kept clean, as a practical manifestation of civic pride.

Zoning Adjustment Boards for Maine

An act (chapter 127) of the 1939 session of the Maine legislature amends the zoning enabling act so that it is now possible to create a "zoning adjustment" board, and in addition "empower such board to administer the details of the application of the zoning ordinance and regulations in accordance with the rules set forth in the zoning ordinance." The earlier enabling act made no provision for a board of adjustment or appeals, and left the entire administration of the ordinance in the hands of the municipal officials, namely the council or the selectmen of a town. It became apparent that in many instances, the selectmen did not have the time, the continuity of tenure, or the independence necessary for the successful administration of a zoning ordinance.

Orren C. Hormell
Bowdoin College

Interstate Commission Seeks Federal Funds for Delaware River Study

On June 10th the Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin, upon which the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware are represented, requested the federal government to appropriate $400,000 to help finance a comprehensive investigation of water resources in the basin and provide a proper basis for allocation of water to the four states. It is desired to have the National Resources Committee make the study in coöperation with the interstate commission. State appropriations are also being sought.

Lectures on Legal Problems of Municipal Government

The Practicing Law Institute, a nonprofit educational institution at 150 Broadway, New York, organized for the benefit of practicing lawyers, will conduct a lecture series dealing with the varied legal problems of municipal government and administrators as a part of its summer session during the last two weeks in July. The lecturers include Corporation Counsel Chanler of New York City and seven members of his staff, also various experts on municipal bonds and lecturers on civil service laws, investigations of municipal corruption, civil liberties, public housing, real estate taxation, foreclosure of tax liens, regulation of public utilities, and the defense of tort claims against municipalities. The lecturers are drawn from governmental and other circles in the state of New York and the federal government.

Police School in Kentucky

Early in June the University of Kentucky and the Kentucky Municipal League jointly sponsored a school for police officers. The number of city and state policemen in attendance was greater than in previous years when similar projects have been undertaken in Kentucky.

JAMES W. MARTIN
Commissioner of Revenue, Kentucky

Interne Training Course Completed in Washington

On June 3rd forty-one outstanding college graduates completed nine months of practical training in Washington under the auspices of the National Institute of Public Affairs. This group of thirty-two men and nine women is the third selected by the institute in a nation-wide competition based on scholarship, leadership, and interest in government problems. They were assigned as non-salaried observers and part-time workers in various governmental departments, boards, legislators' offices, etc., and also had the benefit of lectures, seminars, and other instruction. Frederick M. Davenport is president and advisory counsel of the institute, Louis Brownlow heads the trustees, and Henry Reining, Jr., is educational director.

Another County Manager in California

Wisconsin and New York Counties Want Manager

By PAUL W. WAGER

A change in Butte County government, sought for more than a year, was partially realized on July 1st with the appointment of a county manager at a salary of $300 a month, by action of the board of supervisors. The manager takes over the duties formerly exercised by the county purchasing agent and becomes the advisor of the supervisors on all fiscal matters. He will be known as an executive secretary. The adoption of the manager plan in the fullest sense would require a change in the charter. An effort a year ago to put the proposition on the ballot met with failure. Instead the supervisors put on a proposition to raise their own salaries to $200 a month and serve full time. This proposal was decisively defeated by the voters of the county.

Manager Plan Urged for Two Counties

Sweeping reorganization of Milwaukee County government, adoption of the county manager plan, and abolishment of most of the elective offices is recommended in a report of the City Club's committee on county affairs.

Major changes recommended are: Reduction of the county board from twenty to nine members, and their election at large by proportional representation; appointment by the board of a county manager to plan, direct, and coördinate the administration of the county government; abolition of the elective offices of county treasurer, county clerk, register of deeds, clerk of circuit court, sheriff, coroner, and surveyor; creation of departments of public finance, public works, public welfare, public records, public safety, and personnel, the department heads to be appointed by the manager and the court clerks by the judges of each court; establishment of the county corporation counsel as an independent officer, like the county auditor.

Amendment of the Wisconsin constitution, which prescribes an inflexible pattern of county organization, would be necessary to effectuate the committee's proposals.

A campaign for the adoption of manager government has been launched by the Democratic party in Onondaga County, New York, by the circulation of petitions for a referendum on the subject. The proposed reorganization provides for a board of ten supervisors elected by pro-

portional representation, an appointive county manager, and six administrative departments.

Memphis Mayor Favors City-County Consolidation

Mayor Overton of Memphis has come out in favor of the consolidation of Memphis and Shelby County. He is not critical of the present government of either political unit. He admits that both have made great progress in the elimination of waste and extravagance and in solving the problems of local government. But he believes that even greater progress would have been made had not the city and county governments been limited by constitutional restrictions, and by county officers created by the constitution which are no longer essential in a thickly populated urban community. While he thinks consolidation offers great possibilities of increased economy and efficiency, he warns that it should not be attempted until the most careful study has been made.

County Reorganization in Pennsylvania Denied by Legislature

The Pennsylvania legislature has adjourned without approving the submission of a constitutional amendment authorizing optional forms of county government. It likewise refused to submit an amendment which if ratified would have resulted in the consolidation of the city and county of Philadelphia.

Reorganization in Los Angeles County

The board of supervisors of Los Angeles County, upon the insistence of the chief administrative officer, has created a new department to be called a Bureau of Administrative Research. To this new division were assigned all the functions performed by the former Department of Budget and Research. The research staff is now a part of the administrative setup of the county, the new arrangement being parallel to that of the Budget Department of the federal government in the President's plan of reorganization.

Legislatures Struggle With Relief Financing

Milwaukee Reduces Interest Rates
New York State Budget Unconstitutional

Edited by WADE S. SMITH

State Finance in South Carolina

Public welfare has been a bugaboo to members of the South Carolina General Assembly who are genuinely concerned about the condition of state finances. The requirements of this new department, for which funds were not available, were outlined in the March issue of the REVIEW. Although the final answer has not yet been written in the revenue and appropriation bills for the next fiscal year, a brief account of the struggle may be of interest to those in other states who are faced with a similar problem.

Early in February an attempt was made in the House of Representatives to allocate $4,000,000 of the revenue from so-called "special" taxes for public welfare. These special taxes are those on incomes, soft drinks, tobacco, beer, wine, inheritances, electric power, etc., which are expected to yield approximately $10,300,000 in the next fiscal year. The tax on whisky and that on gasoline could not well be included for they were already earmarked for purposes other than application to general appropriations. The former is assigned under the constitution to education, and the latter is paid into the separate highway fund for roads. Those who opposed the move saw in it a threat to all other state functions, such as public education, the administration of justice, the state health program, and the administration of essential regulatory bodies. The bill was defeated by a vote of only forty-one to thirty-seven, with forty-six members absent or not voting.

At the instigation of Governor Burnet R. Maybank, a special "Committee of Nine" on taxation and governmental reform was constituted of three lay members, three members of the Senate, and three of the House. On March 15th this group submitted specific recommendations for increasing the general fund by $4,440,000. This would have been accomplished largely by making the counties share the cost of public welfare, by increasing income and liquor taxes, by levying an amusement tax, and by diverting highway funds for general purposes. The committee positively opposed a general sales tax, to which so many states have turned as a way out.

Of particular significance was the committee's criticism that South Carolina is now spending an extremely high percentage of its revenue for highway purposes. The report found in part: "In its fiscal policy South Carolina is analogous to a family with an annual income of $2,000 spending from $800 to $1,000 of it on an automobile. To have raised the amount of money spent by the highway department during these years (1927-1936) would have required an annual retail sales tax of 7.28 per cent based upon retail sales of 1935."

Carefully substituting the word "retention" for the customary term "diversion," the committee recommended the retention of one cent of the gasoline tax and license fees, which would increase by approximately $1,800,000 the funds available for general governmental activities.

This suggested diversion of highway funds readily became the outstanding issue of the present legislative session, for this department is easily the most powerful political influence in the entire setup of state administration and has many friends in the Senate. Accordingly, the Senate finance subcommittee proceeded to scrape here and there to prepare a plan by which it could avert the diversion of the gasoline tax. Within a month it reported a fourteen-point new revenue program, designed to raise $5,875,000. Escaping completely the invasions of this program were the highway department, the utilities, and the property owners. Also, no sales tax was included, although the proposed taxes on automobiles, lubricating oil, candy, cosmetics, etc., would be sale taxes in fact.

The money measure finally adopted by the Senate, however, included a loan of $1,250,000 from the highway department, and an extra cent gasoline tax for general purposes. (The present six cents would still be divided, with five cents to the highway department and one cent to the counties.) These two features of the Senate revenue-raising program were eliminated by the House, as it voted outright diversion of $2,000,000 revenue from motor vehicle license fees and motor transportation fees from the highway department for general purposes.

Retention of the three-mill property tax for education, a boost of the tax on liquor from $.96 to $1.28 a gallon, funding the anticipated $1,000,000 state deficit over a five-year period, and an increase in non-resident tuition fees at state colleges from $150 to $250 were the Senate proposals that were incorporated by the House in its revenue plans.

When the appropriation bill went to free conference, the House amendments had reduced the Senate bill of $15,145,838 to $12,600,000, as against a $10,267,021 measure which had been approved by the House in February. The difference between the two figures was largely an appropriation for public welfare, which had been omitted from the first bill.

The conferees appear to have reached a compromise on all points except whether the final draft should take $2,000,000 from highway funds without strings attached, as the House desires, or should provide for borrowing $1,250,000 from that department. At secret meetings on June 2nd both bodies confirmed their stands, leaving a virtual stalemate.

While the fight over diversion of highway funds has been and continues to be the outstanding issue, the refusal to alter the public assistance program under social security is unquestionably the most far-reaching action of the present session.

JAMES K. COLEMAN

The Citadel
Charleston, South Carolina

Action on Philadelphia Debt Limits

It is gratifying that the 1939 legislature rejected the proposed constitutional debt limit amendment (Senate bill 170) that was approved by the 1937 legislature, and which could have come before the voters in November had it been approved again, according to the June 6th issue of *Citizens' Business,* published by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research. It is also gratifying that the legislature approved two new alternative proposed debt limit amendments (Senate bills 49 and 482), thus giving the 1941 legislature a choice for submission to the voters in that year. The rejected proposal is held highly objectionable, for, on the basis of present assessed valuations, it would have increased Philadelphia's general debt limit by $102,130,000 and would have provided an additional $88,855,000 debt limit for sewage treatment works. The proposals passed on to the 1941 legislature are decidedly more conservative: No. 49 would increase the general debt limit by $13,275,000, but would provide no separate limit for sewage treatment work; No. 482 would decrease the city's general debt limit by $41,064,000 but would provide a special $90,324,000 debt limit for sewage treatment works.

In 1941 it will be much easier than now to make a wise choice between these two proposals.

Milwaukee Saves by Financial Planning

A saving of nearly one million dollars in interest on bonds of the new Milwaukee water filtration plant has been reported by the Municipal Finance Officers' Association. This huge saving is possible because the bonds were issued with a callable feature.

Milwaukee issued $3,675,000 in 4 per cent mortgage bonds in 1933 to finance its portion of the filtration plant, and to secure a Works Progress Administration grant of $1,385,000. Instead of selling the bonds to WPA, the city sold them through regular investment channels, subject to call after three years.

About $600,000 of the bonds have been liquidated with funds obtained by setting aside 16 per cent of the water department revenues for this purpose. The city is now liquidating another $320,000 in bonds with water department earnings, and refunding the balance by an issue of $2,280,000 in bonds paying 2⅛ per cent and maturing at the rate of $200,000 a year from July 1, 1940 to 1955 inclusive.

Interest on the new issue will total $446,250 as compared with $1,053,920 had the original 4 per cent issue remained outstanding until the maturity date. The city previously had saved $370,000 in interest by issuing bonds during construction as the money was needed, instead of selling all the bonds at one time.

The call feature in the original bond issue provided that the city pay a premium at the time of the call equal to ¼ of 1 per cent of the principal amount of each bond for each year from the date the bonds were called to the date of maturity. The premiums are payments to the bondholders as compensation for surrendering their bonds before maturity. Total premium payments for the privilege of call on the original bond issue amount to $65,870.

Courts Void New York State Budget

In a unanimous decision handed down on June 22nd the New York State Court of Appeals held unconstitutional some $7,000,000 "savings" made by the Repub

lican majority in substituting "lump sum" appropriations for the "line" appropriations of the executive budget. The decision is regarded by many as a victory for the detailed budget procedure prescribed in the new state constitution ratified by the voters last November, although it necessitates a special session of the legislature, which must adopt a budget conforming to legal requirements prior to the end of the fiscal year on June 30th. The legislature was promptly called and convened June 24th.

The high court noted that its invalidation did not extend to the cuts in state aid for highways and schools, which were made in accordance with the prescribed procedure. The school cut in particular has been meeting with strenuous opposition from school authorities, who in New York City must absorb a net cut of approximately $5,000,000 out of a budget total of nearly $154,000,000, and have dramatized it by announcing the elimination of kindergartens, night schools, etc. Governor Herbert Lehman in his message to the emergency session urged reconsideration of both cuts in state aid.

News in Brief

Solution of the relief problem in **New Jersey** appeared as far away early in July as it was when the state legislature convened in January. A bond issue to cover a part of the costs and proposals to lower the state's responsibility had much backing, but legislators appeared more divided than ever with the lower house still seeking to divert highway bond proceeds.

In **Colorado** the legislature substantially followed the Governor's financial program, appropriating to the state's general fund 35 per cent of the recently enacted state income tax, proceeds of which had previously been returned in their entirety to the counties for school purposes. The "diversion" is held to assure continuation of state support of emergency relief, but complicates the fiscal problems of the local units. The state is also pressing for payment of about $750,000 owed it by the municipalities under a court decision rendered early this year holding that 85 per cent of municipally-collected liquor licenses must go into the state old-age assistance fund. Collection of the money may permit payment of the full $45 per month pension for several months, instead of the much lower sums which have been paid in the past, but it will also unbalance city budgets. Most of the cities, including Denver, had collected and spent the liquor licenses on the assumption that the courts would hold that the allocation of 85 per cent of the licenses applied only to state taxes.

The **New Hampshire** House has approved a judiciary committee report favoring enactment of a bill to establish a state division of municipal accounting within the state tax commission. The division would have power to prescribe uniform accounting procedures, and would publish annual summaries of county, city, town, school and village finances. It would also have the power to make an annual audit of the local accounts every two years, or as often as seemed necessary, and charge the cost to the unit affected.

The **Arizona** legislature passed, after strenuous debate, and the Governor has signed, a bill to rebate interest on delinquent taxes paid before December 4, 1939. The law, which became effective June 12th, applies to all except the 1938 levies, and is estimated to cover about $7,700,000 in tax arrears. Some observers believe that in view of strong opposition reenactment of this type of tax legislation in Arizona is not likely.

The P. R. Lines Hold

Victory in Cincinnati
A Good Vote in Minneapolis
Five Cities to Vote Soon
P. R. in Catholic Ireland

By GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

Cincinnati Stands Firm

The largest vote ever recorded in a special election in Cincinnati's history turned out Tuesday, June 6th, to decide the fate of an amendment seeking to eliminate the proportional representation method of electing city councilmen from the Cincinnati charter. It was the second time such an amendment had been offered by the Republican organization, long-time enemies of the charter, a similar referendum in May 1936 having ended unsuccessfully.

Pre-election consensus was that the supporters of proportional representation were making a gallant but futile effort. The fact that the referendum was being proposed at a special election—and of all months, in June, traditional month of graduation, weddings, and vacationing—alone augured success for the anti-P. R. forces.

The Republican machine campaign was strategically organized and carefully staged. Heart of the campaign was a wide-flung appeal subtly linking P. R. with Hitler, Mussolini, and the Communists. Seizing upon the use of the P. R. method for German elections under the Weimar Republic, and in Italy before 1922,[1] Republican organization leaders waged a campaign "For Americans Only." P. R., they said, was responsible for the governmental paralysis which gave Hitler and Mussolini their opportunities to seize power. In addition, they made much of the fact that the local chapter of the C. I. O., currently linked by the Dies Congressional investigation with the Communist movement, was supporting P. R. Climax of the campaign was an appeal to the "traditional racial purity" of Cincinnati, aimed principally at the German vote.

Two of Cincinnati's three daily papers plumped for the amendment and against P. R.: the arch-Republican *Times-Star* and the customarily independent *Enquirer*. The organization work of the Republican machine was more complete than in any recent election. Spearhead of its forces were some five hundred-odd Republican job-holders in the county court house and the state administration. Twenty-one hundred election officials in seven hundred precincts of Hamilton County, wherein Cincinnati is located, each were directed to obtain at least ten pledges of support for the repealer. Six former supporters of the City Charter Committee, principal protagonist for P. R., deserted in the name of Republican organization solidarity for 1940, and gave their names and blessings to the amendment.

Voting, it was freely predicted, would be light. Usual vote at a Cincinnati special election is approximately 45,000-50,000. This figure, it was agreed, would be topped by less than 15,000. "No one's interested" was the universal dictum. Newspaper editors, consciously or unconsciously taking their cue, played campaign stories down; all, that is, except the *Cincinnati Post*. Ten days before election even the most sanguine optimist could see scant hope of defeating the amendment.

Against this background the City Charter Committee and the *Cincinnati Post*, making common cause, linked arms and girded for war. The *Post*, featuring Pendergast and Kansas City, where city management exists without benefit of P. R., worked up a brilliant counter-offensive. The charter group, although quiescent for over a year and a half, and minus the services of its founder, the late Henry

[1] In each case a party list system quite different from the Hare system of P. R. used in American cities.

Bentley, as well as the financial support of its chief "angel," the late B. H. Kroger, set out to organize in such a fashion as to turn "certain defeat" into victory.

A carefully planned schism in the ranks of the A. F. of L. leaders, reputedly unanimous in hostility to P. R., was seconded by an intensive drive from Labor's Nonpartisan League. Democratic chieftains supposed to be lukewarm on the subject were led into line by the efforts of independent Democratic members of the charter group. A special educational campaign among colored voters had as its objective reduction of the usually tremendous Republican machine majorities there. Two weeks before election 1,500 volunteer men and women workers took the field in a personal vote canvass of the "Charter hilltops." Paid advertising blanketed all daily newspapers to break down the apparent agreement which up to then had killed campaign news.

On the 6th of June the allied front of P. R.'s supporters held firm, despite a sultry, humid day. Men patrolled the polling places and women got out the vote. At 9:30 o'clock, three hours after the polls closed, the leader of the anti-P. R. forces conceded defeat. The final vote: for the amendment, 47,558; against the amendment, 48,300.

So, to the world Cincinnati again sends its message—"What we have, we hold."

Forest Frank, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

P. R. Rejected in Close Vote for Minneapolis Board of Education

The first attempt in recent years to introduce the P. R. system of voting in Minneapolis, while defeated at the polls, greatly encouraged its supporters by the surprisingly heavy vote polled for the system.

Submission of P. R. was ordered by the Charter Commission as an amendment to the city charter to provide for the election of members of the Board of Education and was put to a vote at the general municipal election on June 12th. The final vote was 66,108 for the P. R. amendment to 69,753 against. Since the city charter requires that an amendment, in order to be adopted, must receive 60 per cent of the total vote cast, the proposal was several thousand short of the number of votes required.

There was, however, virtually no campaign for the amendment and only one organization, the Charter Union, active in its support. This organization sent speakers to explain P. R. to a few political rallies, distributed 1,500 window cards, and in other ways endeavored to bring P. R. to the attention of the electorate. None of the daily newspapers featured the amendment and it was rarely mentioned in the news stories in a campaign that limelighted some bitterly contested local issues.

Mr. Charles F. Keyes, president of the Minneapolis Taxpayers Association, delivered one radio address explaining P. R. and the Civic Council printed and distributed 30,000 copies of a *Voter's Directory* which analyzed the amendment and briefly explained how the proportional representation system works.

In view of the lack of publicity and educational effort, P. R. supporters are well pleased with the vote, regarding it as an indication that success will attend a future effort to introduce the system in Minneapolis.

Allen H. Seed, Jr.
Executive Vice-President
Minneapolis Civic Council

Waterbury Bill Signed

Governor Raymond E. Baldwin of Connecticut signed the Waterbury charter bill on June 20th. The bill provides for a referendum on the adoption of the charter, based on P. R. and the city manager plan, at a special election on October

3rd. If the vote is favorable the first P. R. election will be held on November 14th.

Three New York Cities Expect to Vote

The P. R. Committee of New Rochelle (Walter M. Hinkle, chairman) has filed its first petitions for a P. R. amendment to the city's manager plan charter and the city council has voted to submit the amendment at the November election without waiting for the supplementary petition which under New York law could force the submission even without council action.

Petitions for a similar P. R. amendment are in circulation in White Plains and will probably be filed before this article appears in print. White Plains, the county seat of Westchester County, presents an exceptionally clear case for P. R. because, in spite of a fairly large Democratic minority, no Democrat has ever been elected to the city council or other local office within recent years. Independent Republicans, Democrats, and the League of Women Voters are working together for the amendment against local Republican organization opposition. There is an informal campaign committee headed by Mrs. William Pepper Marts. The two local newspapers are giving good publicity. White Plains does not have the manager plan and the proposed amendment does not include it.

The Schenectady Citizens' Council for P. R. is also circulating petitions and expects to force another vote on P. R. this fall. The amendment proposed to the Schenectady manager plan charter is almost identical with the one narrowly defeated at the polls after its legality had been upheld in the courts last fall, but it leaves the total membership of the council at seven instead of proposing an increase to nine. The first gun in this year's campaign was a well attended debate on March 26th before the Empire State Town Meeting at Union College between Richard K. Hamlen, chairman of the Citizens' Council for P. R., and Louis M. Killeen, the Schenectady delegate to last year's constitutional convention who proposed the statewide ban on P. R. rejected by the voters overwhelmingly last November.

Chicopee, Massachusetts, May Vote Next Year

Former Alderman George Simonich of Chicopee, Massachusetts, who led a nearly successful campaign for "plan D," the city manager plan without P. R., last year, has filed a petition with 3,500 signatures for the submission of "plan E," the manager plan with P. R. A petition for "plan B," the mayor and council form of government, had been filed earlier, however, and the optional city government law does not permit more than one plan to be submitted at the same time. Mr. Simonich has attacked the legality of the Plan B petitions. If the state ballot law commission rules out the earlier petitions, plan E will go on the ballot at the state election next year, but otherwise it will have to wait till 1942. Chicopee is an industrial city near Springfield with 43,930 population, according to the 1930 census.

P. R. in Catholic Ireland

In view of recent interest in P. R. in Catholic circles in the United States, the following article has been contributed by the secretary of the British P. R. Society, whose aid was sought by Irish authorities in connection with the introduction of P. R. in Ireland many years ago and who has followed electoral matters in that country closely ever since.—EDITOR.

Eire, formerly the Irish Free State, is a Catholic nation; it has used proportional representation for many years; its experience is of special value to all, to Catholics and Protestants alike.

In 1937 Eire adopted by popular vote a new constitution. This constitution begins with these words: "In the name

of the Most Holy Trinity . . . we, the people of Eire . . . seeking to promote the common good, with due observance of prudence, justice, and charity . . . do hereby adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this constitution."

The constitution also declares that the state recognizes the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the faith professed by the great majority of the citizens.

Proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote, no longer an ordinary law, is part of this constitution: its use is prescribed for the election of: (1) the President, (2) the House of Representatives (Dail Eireann), (3) the Senate. Proportional representation was given this special recognition because it had been an acknowledged success; it has been used continuously for all local elections from 1920 and for parliamentary elections from 1922.

In the three largest cities—Dublin, Cork, Limerick—proportional representation is combined, following the American example, with the city manager plan.

Mr. de Valera, the head of the government (Prime Minister) of Eire for seven years; and a devout Catholic, has a keen sense of justice. In 1927, speaking in the Dail, he said:

> From the outset he had led Sinn Fein in accepting P. R. on the ground that it was just. That was his view, even though the system was being introduced to destroy Sinn Fein. Now also, though all the indications showed that Fianna Fail (the de Valera party) would be the majority party after the next election, he stood for proportional representation.
>
> He would never say that minorities should be denied representation, and if the object of those who advocated the abolition of P. R. was to wipe out minority representation they would get no support from him.

His last public declaration on this question was made in a press interview in October 1938. Speaking of the partition of Ireland, he said:

> If I could have my own way, I would have immediately a single All-Ireland Parliament, elected on a system of proportional representation so as to be fair to minorities.

Mr. de Valera not only used his influence to make P. R. part of the constitution of Eire; he now desires to extend its use, to apply it to the election of a Parliament for All-Ireland.

Northern Ireland has a separate Parliament. The majority in this part of Ireland had always been opposed to proportional representation, and, having the power to do so, this majority abolished the use of P. R. for municipal elections in 1922 and for parliamentary elections in 1929.

A statement of protest against the abolition of P. R. for municipal elections was issued by His Eminence Cardinal Logue, Primate of All-Ireland; the Archbishop of Armagh; and the Bishops of the Heirarchy of Ulster.

This protest began:

> It is doubtful whether in modern times any parallel can be found for the way in which the Catholic minority in the North of Ireland is being systematically wronged under the laws of the Northern Parliament.
>
> Proportional representation, as enacted by the 1920 act to protect the minority, is abolished, or being abolished, and the constituencies have already been shamelessly gerrymandered.

Mr. Joseph Devlin, M. P., at that time the political leader of the Catholics in Northern Ireland, joined with many others in further protests and, speaking in the House of Commons, on its abolition for parliamentary elections, said:

> You [Great Britain] gave us [the minority] representation as one of your guarantees. . . . That safeguard has been removed. I was not a proportional representationist myself until I saw it enacted, but the results of proportional representation in Northern Ireland were the greatest possible vindication of it, because it not only gave the minority the representation

to which it was entitled, but it enabled the people to return men of distinction of various classes. Before it was abolished, we had an excellent little Parliament in Northern Ireland.

Canon Luce, a Protestant living in Eire and professor of moral philosophy at Trinity College, Dublin, gave expression last year to views very similar to those expounded in the House of Commons by Mr. Joseph Devlin, a Catholic living in Northern Ireland. In a letter written to the *Irish Times* a few days after the general election of 1938, Canon Luce gave a considered judgment on the effects of P. R. in Ireland:

> To this well tested instrument of enlightened democracy, we all, irrespective of class, creed, and party, owe far more than we sometimes realize. Old political feuds are dying; public spirit is replacing faction. The voice of reason is heard, and the gun is silent. P. R. has been a healing force in our midst.

A reform in respect of which these words can be said, and truly said, a reform which gives justice, defeats monopoly, and enlarges citizenship, is a reform worthy of the support of every democratic community.

JOHN H. HUMPHREYS

New Uses of P. R. for Private Organizations

The Connecticut Merit System Association, a state-wide citizens' organization of about three thousand members devoted to the advancement of the merit system in the civil service, has just made an interesting application of the P. R. principle to the election of its governing body. The association's constitution provides for election of the council at the annual meeting. Ordinarily a nominating committee has brought in a slate, which was accepted without opposition at the meeting. This year all members of the association were invited to participate, whether they attended the annual meeting or not. The state was divided into districts to which council members were apportioned on th basis of one for every forty members o the association (except that each distric was entitled to at least one). Waterbury the largest chapter, elected fourteen mem bers on the basis of a membership of abou 550. In the smaller districts all member were regarded as nominees. In the large districts nominations were invited fro the members and those receiving most me tions up to an agreed number in excess the number to be elected, were put on th ballot. The ballots were cast and publicl counted according to the Hare system P. R. Those elected were then accepte by the nominating committee and ratifie at the annual meeting in June. Th plan was developed by William F. Burk of Waterbury, a vice-president of th association.

About 800 ballots were returned out 2,700 mailed out, and of these only te were invalid. This is a new high ma in member participation in the election Last year only about 300 were able attend the annual meeting and vote. Th election brought many new faces into th council and at the same time retained th active leaders who had built up the associa tion. Laurence O. Smith, executive secr tary of the association, writes that th psychological effect of electing the coun in this way has been excellent. A fu account of the election will be carried *The Merit Man*, organ of the Connectic Merit System Association (152 Temp Street, New Haven), for July.

The Monmouth Council, Number Nin of the New Jersey Civil Service Associatio an organization with aims similar to tho of the Connecticut Merit System Associ tion, recently adopted P. R. for the electio of its executive committee and elect twenty-five committeemen by that syste for the first time on April 4th. The exec tive committee elects the officers, also the Hare system.

Another civic organization to ado

P. R. recently for its own elections is the Toledo City Manager League. The League is the organization which led the successful campaign for adoption of P. R. and the city manager plan in 1933 and two successful charter defense campaigns since. Its nonpartisan candidates were elected to a majority of the places on the city council at each of the two P. R. elections so far held in Toledo. Early this year it used the election of five new directors from a slate of ten as the occasion for a public demonstration of a P. R. count.

The New Jersey Federation of Consumers' Coöperatives has elected its board of directors by P. R. for the last three years. Jerome M. Ludlow, president, explained the use of P. R. by saying that "consumers' coöperatives are the very essence of democracy and use every device possible to keep themselves so."

The spread of P. R. in college elections continues. In February the student body of Muhlenberg College, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, adopted almost unanimously a new constitution and by-laws providing for the election of a student council of nine by the Hare system of P. R. and the selection of officers from the membership of the council. The Hare system is to be used for all college elections.

In May the new Queens College, established under the Board of Higher Education of New York City, used P. R. for the election of its student council. Professor Phillips Bradley reports that the student body is enthusiastic about the P. R. method.

The annual report of the British P. R. Society for the year 1938-39 gives the following summary of the present status of P. R. in private organizations in England, Scotland, and Wales:

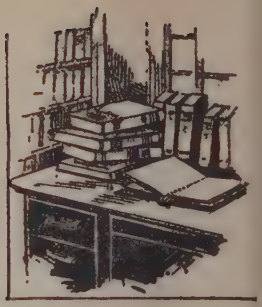
"Each year witnesses some extension of the use of the transferable vote in the election of officers and committees by societies and organizations. The most important addition to the list this year is the National Union of Townswomen's Guilds, which has adopted the transferable vote for the election of ten regional representatives upon the executive committee.

"Bedford College for Women is added to the number of colleges of which the Students' Union elects its executive by proportional representation.

"The organizations which now use the single transferable vote either for the election of individual officers by a majority vote, or of committees by proportional representation, include the following:

"The National Union of Clerks, the National Union of Journalists, the National Union of Railwaymen, the National Union of Teachers, the National Union of Townswomen's Guilds, the Northern Colliery Officials' Mutual Aid Association; the Royal Arsenal Coöperative Society and other coöperative societies, the West Wales District Association of Coöperative Societies, the Coöperative Wholesale Society; the Baptist Union, the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the London Congregational Union, the Congregational Union of Wales, the London Missionary Society, the Woolwich Association of Brotherhoods; the London Liberal Federation and other liberal federations, the National League of Young Liberals; the Students' Unions of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Leeds, of Bedford College for Women, and of the London School of Economics, the Indian Students' Union of the University of London; the Engineers Section of H.M. Office of Works, the Association of H.M. Inspectors of Taxes; the Building Societies Institute, the Dental Board of the United Kingdom, the Educational Institute of Scotland, the Independent Order of Rechabites, the Social Credit Secretariat, the Warrington Teachers' Association, and the Rotary International: Association for Great Britain and Ireland."

Recent Books Reviewed



EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

The City—A Study of Urbanism in the United States. By Stuart Alfred Queen and Lewis Francis Thomas. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939. xv, 500 pp. $4.00.

When the cornerstone of the Chamber of Commerce building in Cincinnati was laid, the young women of the office force were permitted to give a message to posterity in the box placed in the corner-stone. Posterity has been tipped off as to what it may contain, for one stenographer, led to believe a certain wily reporter was enamoured of her, has let it be known that the words in the envelope are these: "Can you find a place to park?" So transitory are the meaning of words that it would be wise to dig out the stone and place a copy of this book therein. It would provide the key in the year 3000 not only to the meaning of the message which then may otherwise be inscrutable, but to hundreds of other problems which are the tremendous, but we hope transitory, results of the first stages of power machine civilization.

For the power machine created cities as we know them and the chapters on prediction and control are not too sure they will survive as they are. What is the force that will change them? The development of technology plus the same "unknown" that brought megalopolis into being—man.

In part III the authors have done a very good job dealing with the people of cities, but to this reviewer chapter XXI is the most significant in the book. It deals with the emotional problems that the people of cities must face and the writers pass from that to the chapters on planning. One gets the feeling that planning is not yet done in creative joy but through a mood—the mood that leads a Parisian to refer to a restaurant check as "la malheuresement."

Written by sociologists, the book is particularly of value to those who need to remind themselves that the city is not seen in its buildings and maps but in the major outlines of the behavior patterns of those who exist within it. The words first put down were "those who live within cities," but the number of people who deserve the use of the word "live" in its full meaning are still far too few.

The last two chapters are a splendid challenge to young men and women to strive, and share their striving, in any of the ten major ways by which, through their collective effect, we can really *live* in cities.

WALTER J. MILLARD

Urban Government. Volume I of the Supplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee. Washington, United States

Government Printing Office, 1939. v, 303 pp. Fifty cents.

It may be that history will set against the name of the National Resources Committee an appellation hardly to have been expected when that body was created—textbook maker. Perhaps the phrase should be set in scarlet, for these are no ordinary textbooks which the committee is producing, but inexpensive compendia of well written, well digested, well selected, useful information. It may be a narrow view to take of this 303-page report on *Urban Government,* but if college students of government know what they are doing, they will bring pressure on their professors to substitute this fifty-five-cent volume sponsored by a glittering board of authors for some five- or six-dollar standard work.

To the thoroughly informed, much of the information contained in the book will be old hat. It is, however, old hat with a new spring ribbon, which is to say with plenty of tables, collected to be sure from fairly well known sources, and in good literary style. There are five parts: Development of Urban Government, by Albert Lepawsky; Federal Relations to Urban Governments, by Wylie Kilpatrick and staff; Federal Reporting of Urban Information, by the Urbanism Committee itself; Associations of Cities and of Municipal Officials, by Harold D. Smith; and Public Safety, by Louis Wirth and Marshall Clinard.

The sections on federal relations and federal reporting are most interesting, for they throw the light of many details on the rapidly developing and until recently neglected (by scholars) field of federal-municipal relations. That the Urbanism Committee should have made eight recommendations "within the competence of the federal government" is in itself a matter to give one pause. If the state is the father of the municipality, then it looks as if the federal government is getting ready to declare itself godfather.

M. R.

Which Way, America? By Lyman Bryson. New York City, The Macmillan Company (The People's Library) 1939. 113 pp. Sixty cents.

The People's Library is an experiment in adult education. Based on the conviction that a well informed citizenry is the backbone of democracy, it is directed to that large section of our population which, according to its editors, now gets most of its information on current affairs from the newspapers and weeklies.

The volumes published this spring cover such diversified subjects of popular interest as popular psychology, ethnology, and home decoration. Others planned will take up public health, criminology, and general science. These books do not deal with the research branch of education. They do not seek to present new facts or theories. Rather, they are intended to present well established material on subjects of current interest and to present it in a style so clear and readable that the millions of people who now shy away from books will be attracted to them.

Mr. Bryson's *Which Way, America?* complies with all the conditions set down by the People's Library for its publications. It is clear, written in an understandable style, and while it presents no new material, the old material is set forth in an orderly and well organized fashion seldom found in books dealing with the complex systems of government under which Russia, Germany, and Italy are operating today.

In effecting this truly amazing job of organization Mr. Bryson has not been guilty of over-simplification, the trap into which so many authors fall when writing for popular consumption. As nearly as possible for a confirmed believer in democracy, he has presented a well balanced picture of the Communist and Fascist philosophies and contrasted them with democracy as we know it in the United States.

If this little book is typical of the work

of the People's Library, we can look forward to the series performing a useful and much needed service in the defense of democracy.

R. M. W.

New York Advancing. World's Fair Edition. Edited by Rebecca B. Rankin. New York City, Municipal Reference Library, 1939. xxvi, 270 pp. Fifty cents.

Although this voluminous report was "arranged from the viewpoint of the visitor to the World's Fair," it is doubtful whether it will be read so much by out-of-town gapers at Grover Whalen's Never-never-land as by serious-minded New Yorkers in need of a reference book.

The style is by no means that of orthodox annual reports. More like a familiarly written text book designed for the intelligent high school student or adult, the aim has been to give the story of everything that is done by the government of the largest city in the world.

The chapter headings are one of the most interesting features of an interesting book: City Planning, Safety, Living Conditions, Recreation, Education, Making and Enforcement of Law, Personnel, Business Management, New York World's Fair and the City of Tomorrow, and Statistics.

The art work is also notable. There are plenty of the orthodox bridge-in-process-of-construction, aerial-view-of-new-park type of photographs, but the editor has also included some colorful water colors dealing with such homely subjects as "Staten Island ferry."

M. R.

American Government. By William Anderson. New York City, Henry Holt and Company, 1938. vii, 1080 pp. College edition, $3.75; Trade edition, $5.00.

This textbook, by the chairman of the Department of Political Science of the University of Minnesota, covers the complete story of the three branches of our government from their early beginnings to the present and gives a clear picture of American democracy in action. It affords a realistic understanding of how the government of this country actually operates. The author has not discussed each layer of government as a separate unit, but has divided his text along functional lines with the result that greater opportunity is afforded to deal with the growing relations between the three levels of government and to draw comparisons. This arrangement also makes for easier reading and for a clearer picture of governmental operations as a whole.

Schools and City Government. By Nelson B. Henry and Jerome G. Kerwin. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938. xi, 104 pp. $1.50.

This volume discusses the question "Should schools be administered under an authority entirely free from the control or influence of local public officials, or is effective administration best obtained by the closer coördination of schools and municipal government?" The data presented cover the school systems of all cities of 50,000 and over. The study was made coöperatively by members of the Department of Education and of Political Science of the University of Chicago.

The authors have found that there is "continuous and increasing coöperation between the cities and the schools" which might eventually "bring about a practical coördination of the organized efforts of the two corporations to provide an adequate program of public service for the communities which support them." Strong sentiment exists, however, in favor of the complete separation of city and school due largely to the belief that complete coördination of the two units will subject schools to the influence of organized politics. On the whole, the authors find numerous opportunities for, and advan-

tages of, coöperation between the school and the municipality.

Additional Books and Reports Received[1]

Civil Service

Civil Service for Policemen in Minnesota. By Marcus Gordon. Minneapolis, League of Minnesota Municipalities, 1939. 16 pp.

Classification of City Positions and Compensation Schedules and Proposals for a Personnel Bureau and Merit System for Employees of the City of New Haven. New Haven, Connecticut, New Haven Taxpayers, Inc. 1938. 267 pp. mimeo. $3.50.

Oral Examinations in Civil Service Recruitment—with special reference to experiences in Pennsylvania. By W. V. Bingham. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1939. 30 pp. Fifty cents.

The Fight for Superannuation. By L. Hill. London, National Association of Local Government Officers, 1939. 39 pp.

Education

Education within Prison Walls. By Walter M. Wallack, Glenn M. Kendall, and Howard L. Briggs. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939. x, 187 pp. $2.25.

Forum Planning Handbook. How to organize school-administered forums. By John W. Studebaker and Chester S. Williams. Washington, D. C., Federal Forum Demonstrations, 1939. 71 pp.

Radio in Education. By Federal Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, Department of Public Instruction, 1939. 52 pp. illus.

Social Services and the Schools. By Educational Policies Commission. Washington, D. C., 1939. xi, 147 pp.

Housing

Housing and the Home. By Hazel Shulz. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939. ix, 420 pp. illus. $2.00.

Housing for the Machine Age. By Clarence Arthur Perry. New York City, Russell Sage Foundation, 1939. 261 pp. illus. $2.50.

Managing Low-Rent Housing. A Record of Current Experience and Practice in Public Housing. (Based on Lectures and Discussions at the Management Training Institute, Washington, D. C., 1938). Chicago, National Association of Housing Officials, 1939. v, 289 pp. mimeo. $2.00.

Municipal Government

Illustrative Materials in Municipal Government and Administration. By Charles Kneier. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1939. xix, 632 pp. $3.50.

Municipal Government and Administration in Tennessee. By Lyndon E. Abbott and Lee S. Greene. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, 1939. 128 pp.

300,000 Guinea Pigs (Story of Toledo's Revival). By Forrest Davis. Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Associates, 1939. 31 pp.

Public Health

California Health Insurance Plans. By Warren H. Pillsbury etc. San Francisco, The Commonwealth Club of California, 1939. 41 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Community Health Organization (Third Edition). Edited by Ira V. Hiscock. New York City, The Commonwealth Fund, 1939. xvi, 318 pp. $2.50.

[1] See also "Research Bureau Reports Received," page 542.

Public Utilities

Cases on Public Utility Regulation. By Irston R. Barnes. New York City, F. S. Crofts & Company, 1938. xx, 984 pp. $7.00.

Taxation and Finance

A Study of Physical Assets, Sometimes Called Wealth, of the United States, 1922-1933. By Rev. Edward A. Keller, C.S.C. Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame, 1939. 140 pp.

Bridge Revenue Bonds. By Robert Klaber. New York, 1939. v, 82 pp. $1.00. (Apply to author at 285 Madison Avenue, New York City.)

Interstate Tariffs. By Tax Policy League. New York City, 1939. 17 pp. mimeo. Twenty-five cents.

Pertinent Financial Data, City of Baltimore, as at January 1, 1939. By Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc. Baltimore, Maryland, 1939. 16 pp.

Tax Delinquent Land in California. A review of the problem and a plan for its solution. California State Planning Board. Sacramento, California, 1938. xiv, 89 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare and Relief

Depression Pioneers. By David Cushman Coyle. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1939. 19 pp.

Need and Method of Securing Additional Revenue for Relief in Illinois. By Social Welfare and Taxation Committees. Chicago, City Club of Chicago, 1939. 7 pp.

State Public Welfare Legislation. By Robert C. Lowe. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1939. xv, 398 pp.

LEGISLATIVE HIGHLIGHTS

(Continued from Page 517)

exceptions, however, the state legislatures from the standpoint of results, resembled the present "do nothing" session of Congress, without the European sideshow to make them interesting. A few important laws were enacted and a few repealed. The sessions were distinguished, rather, by what they did not do and by the fact that the state solons marked time, with some emphasis placed on correcting noticeable abuses and considerable attention devoted to improving administration through amendment to existing laws.

Change in the political party in power in nearly a third of the states, plus a growing consciousness that money spent today must be repaid, placed legislative emphasis upon economy in government, with some immediate success. Next in the interest of the law-makers ranked provisions for old-age security. Both subjects are strongly indicative of the trends of interest of legislatures of future years. The shift in age level of the population which the country is now undergoing presages a time within our own century when it will become a nation of old people rather than a nation of youth. It might be debated whether added years will lend increased wisdom to the decisions of these future solons, but a definite statement can be made that they, too, will worry over how to provide more money for the care of the aged, and at the same time cut government expenditures.